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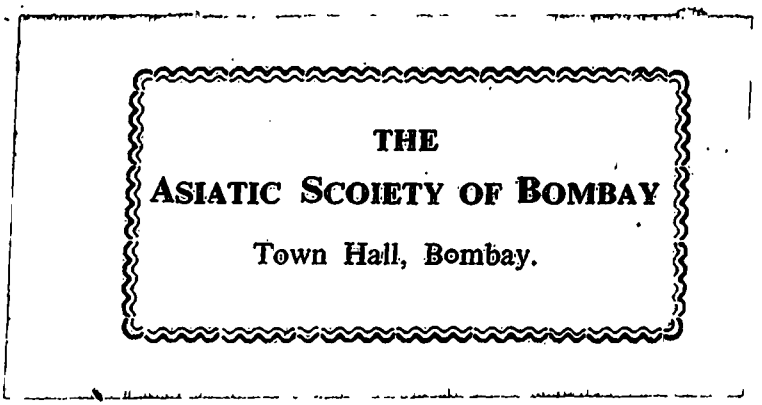

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THE

WORKS

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

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THE

HISTORY

OF

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AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

BOOK VIII.

View of the policy and trade of the Spanish colonies.

AFTER tracing the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was established over almost all the vast regions in the New World still subject to their dominion. The effect of their settlements upon the countries of which they took possession, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior structure and policy of these, together with the influence of their progressive improvement upon the parent state, and upon the commercial intercourse of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention.

BOOK VIII.

Depopulation of America the first effect of them.

THE first visible consequence of the establishments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally astonishing and deplorable. I have already, on different occasions, mentioned the disastrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemisphere commenced, both in the islands and in several parts of the continent, and have touched upon various causes of their rapid consumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had resolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many perished in the unequal contest, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greatest desolation followed after the sword was sheathed, and the conquerors were settled in tranquillity. It was in the islands, and in those provinces of the continent which stretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spanish dominion were first and most sensibly felt. All these were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by such as had made but small progress in cultivation and industry. When they were compelled by their new masters to take up a fixed residence, and to apply to regular labour; when tasks were imposed upon them disproportioned to their strength, and

Causes of this in the islands, and some parts of the continent.

were exacted with unrelenting severity, they possessed not vigour either of mind or of body to sustain this unusual load of oppression. Dejection and despair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine destroyed more. In all those extensive regions, the original race of inhabitants wasted away; in some it was totally extinguished. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people distinguished their opposition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, still greater numbers perished under the hardships of attending the Spanish armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the incessant toil of carrying their baggage, provisions, and military stores.

In New Spain and Peru.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards were so destructive to the people of Mexico and Peru as the inconsiderate policy with which they established their new settlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals: the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual consumption, wasted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a district, from which he might expect an instan-

BOOK VIII.

taneous recompense for all his services. Soldiers, accustomed to the carelessness and dissipation of a military life, had neither industry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its slow but certain returns. Instead of settling in the valleys occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the soil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they chose to fix their stations in some of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To search for mines of gold and silver, was the chief object of their activity. The prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually presents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favourite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the service of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were accordingly compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This sudden transition from the sultry climate of the valleys to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; exorbitant labour, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accustomed,

and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity.[a] In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives[b], the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible.[c]

Not the result of any system of policy;

SUCH are the most considerable events and causes which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddeness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve the pos-

[a] Torquemeda, i. 613.

[b] B. Diaz. c. 124. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 4. Ulloa Entreten. 206.

[c] Torquem. 615. 642, 643. See NOTE I.

BOOK VIII.

session of America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting a great part of the country into a desert, endeavoured to secure their own dominion over it.[d] But nations seldom extend their views to objects so remote, or lay their plans so deep; and, for the honour of humanity we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed such an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs, far from acting upon any such system of destruction, were uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the Christian faith, together with the desire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the consolations of religion, to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than ostensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpose, and manifested the most tender concern to secure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown.[e] Her successors adopted the same ideas; and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed, in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppression of their Spanish

[d] See NOTE II. [e] See NOTE III.

subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive, as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased: and from ardour to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controlled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent-state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider and treat them as slaves. The governors

BOOK VIII.

themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the indigent and often unprincipled adventurers, whose fortune it was to be the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

nor the effect of religion.

With still greater injustice have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolators and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions

of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had set the mark of servitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavoured to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interposition the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as secular, are still considered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed.[f]

The number of the Indians still remaining.

But, notwithstanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very considerable number of the native race still remains both in Mexico and Peru, especially in those parts which were not exposed to the first fury of the Spanish arms, or desolated by the first efforts of their

[f] See NOTE IV.

BOOK VIII.

industry, still more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which stretch along the South Sea, the race of Indians is still numerous. Their settlements in some places are so populous, as to merit the name of cities.[g] In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at least two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but such as still forms a body of people superior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this extensive country.[h] In Peru several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians. In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their settlements are almost the only persons who practise the mechanic arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accustomed to a fixed residence, and to a certain degree of regular industry, less violence was requisite in bringing them to some conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards settled among the savage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitless, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of restraint,

[g] See NOTE V. [h] See NOTE VI.

and disdaining labour as a mark of servility, they either abandoned their original seats, and sought for independence in mountains and forests inaccessible to their oppressors, or perished when reduced to a state repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the districts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the desolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico and Peru, of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession. BOOK VIII.

General ideas of the policy of Spain in its colonies.

But the establishments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state, equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogatives far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to control, either in concerting or in executing their measures. In every wide-extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the sovereign authority such, that its resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with sufficient force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs, when they

BOOK VIII. were called to deliberate concerning the mode of establishing their dominion over the most remote provinces which had ever been subjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that, as independent masters of their own resolves, they might issue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

Early interposition of the regal authority.

THIS early interposition of the Spanish crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which distinguishes their progress from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portuguese, the English, and French took possession of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which these promised to yield were so remote and uncertain, that their colonies were suffered to struggle through a hard infancy, almost without guidance or protection from the parent-state. But gold and silver, the first productions of the Spanish settlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the discovery, and almost nothing to the conquest of the New World, they instantly assumed the function

of its legislators, and having acquired a species of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exercising it, to which nothing similar occurs in the history of human affairs. BOOK VIII.

All power and property vested in the crown.

THE fundamental maxim of Spanish jurisprudence, with respect to America, is to consider what has been acquired there as vested in the crown, rather than in the state. By the bull of Alexander VI., on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been, or should be discovered, were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories which the arms of their subjects conquered in the new world. From them all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who presided over the different colonies, the officers of justice and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleasure. The people who composed infant settlements were entitled to no privileges independent of the sovereign, or that served as a barrier against the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect

BOOK VIII.

their own magistrates who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the most despotic states, this feeble spark of liberty is not extinguished. But in the cities of Spanish America, this jurisdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general interest, the will of the sovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new dominions of Spain subjected to two viceroys.

When the conquests of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of internal policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever she possessed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniences, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in industry and population. The people complained of their subjection to a superior, whose place of

residence was so distant, or so inaccessible, as almost excluded them from any intercourse with the seat of government. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill directed. As a remedy for those evils, a third viceroyalty has been established in the present century, at Santo Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firmè and the province of Quito.[1] Those viceroys not only represent the person of their sovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments in their utmost extent. Like him, they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They have the sole right of nominating the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying those which, when they become vacant by death, are in the royal gift, until the successor appointed by the King shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards,

Their powers.

[1] Voy de Ulloa, i. 23. 255.

BOOK VIII.

a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority.[k]

Courts of Audience.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the King, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiences*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided.[l] The number of judges in the court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station is no less honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons

[k] Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage, 61. [l] See NOTE VII.

of such abilities and merit as renders this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart. Though it is only in the most despotic governments, that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and in absolving, or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast; though, in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms, the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and with an ambition which their distance from the control of a superior rendered bold, have aspired at a power which their master does not venture to assume. In order to check an usurpation which must have annihilated justice and security in the Spanish colonies, by subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a single man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with respect to any point litigated before them.[m] In some parti-

Their jurisdiction.

[m] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 35. 38. 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36, 37.

BOOK VIII.

cular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the Court of Audience, which, in those instances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a constitutional barrier to circumscribe his jurisdiction. But as legal restraints on a person who represents the sovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little suited to the genius of Spanish policy; the hesitation and reserve with which it confers this power on the Courts of Audience are remarkable. They may advise, they may remonstrate; but, in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the King and the Council of the Indies.[n] But to be entitled to remonstrate, and inform against a person, before whom all others must be silent, and tamely submit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the Courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumstance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any provision of a successor by the King, the supreme power is vested in the

[n] Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 34. lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1.

Court of Audience resident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the senior judge, assisted by his brethren, exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant.[o] In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal Council of the Indies.[p]

Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members,

Its power.

[o] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 57, &c.

[p] Recop. lib. v. tit. xiii. l. 1, &c.

BOOK VIII.

before they are issued in the name of the King. All the offices, of which the nomination is reserved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their services, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversations.[q] Before it is laid whatever intelligence, either public or secret, is received from America; and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. From the first institution of the Council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the Catholic monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendour, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue still remains in that country, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be ascribed in a great measure to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal.[r]

[q] Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1, 2, &c.

[r] Solerz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. l. 12.

BOOK VIII.

As the King is supposed to be always present in his Council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he resides. Another tribunal has been instituted, in order to regulate such commercial affairs as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called *Casa de la Contratacion,* or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, the port to which commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be considered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity, it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities should be exported thither, and has the inspection of such as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the West-Indies, the freight and burden of the ships, their equipment and destination. In the latter capacity, it judges with respect to every question, civil, commercial, or criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions of Spain with America; and in both these departments its decisions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the Council of the Indies.[s]

Casa de la Contratacion.

Its functions.

[s] Recop. lib. ix. tit. i. Veitia Norte de la Contratacion, lib. i. 1.

BOOK VIII.

SUCH is the great outline of that system of government, which Spain has established in her American colonies. To enumerate the various subordinate boards and officers employed in the administration of justice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country; to describe their different functions, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations; would prove a detail no less intricate than minute and uninteresting.

First object, to secure an exclusive trade.

THE first object of the Spanish monarchs was to secure the productions of the colonies to the parent-state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. They took possession of America by right of conquest, and conscious not only of the feebleness of their infant settlements, but aware of the difficulty in establishing their dominion over regions so extensive, or in retaining so many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intrusion of strangers; they even shunned their inspection, and endeavoured to keep them at a distance from their coasts. This spirit of jealousy and exclusion, which at first was natural, and perhaps necessary, augmented as their possessions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully understood. In consequence of

it, a system of colonising was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing similar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to send forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which served to disburden a state of its superfluous subjects, when they multiplied too fast for the territory which they occupied; or they were military detachments, stationed as garrisons, in a conquered province. The colonies of some Greek republics, and the swarms of northern barbarians which settled in different parts of Europe, were of the first species. The Roman colonies were of the second. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceased, and they became independent states. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American settlements, the Spanish monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and studied to unite them. By sending colonies to regions so remote, by establishing in each a form of interior policy and administration, under distinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legislation, as well as that of imposing taxes, together with the power of nominating the persons who filled every de-

Regulations for that purpose,

BOOK VIII.

partment of executive government, civil or military, they secured their dependence upon the parent-state. Happily for Spain, the situation of her colonies was such, as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almost all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe are different from those of Europe, even in its most southern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the soil naturally turn the industry of such as settle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their dominions in America, the precious metals which they yielded were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vast prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it impossible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in industry which might interfere with those of the mother-country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited

in the Spanish colonies[t], under severe penalties.[u] They must trust entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a considerable part of the provisions which they consume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies, from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it consumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter its colonies without express permission; no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, with confiscation of moveables, are

[t] See NOTE VIII.

[u] B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf., &c. p. 206.

BOOK VIII.

denounced against every inhabitant who presumes to trade with them.[w] Thus the colonies are kept in a state of perpetual pupillage; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain set the first example to European nations, the supremacy of the parent-state hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Slow progress of population from Europe.

SUCH are the capital maxims to which the Spanish monarchs seem to have attended in forming their new settlements in America. But they could not plant with the same rapidity that they had destroyed; and from many concurring causes, their progress has been extremely slow, in filling up the immense void which their devastations had occasioned. As soon as the rage for discovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and distresses, which at first they did not perceive, or had despised. The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle, the diseases of unwholesome climates, fatal to the constitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country, covered with forests into culture; the want of hands neces-

[w] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. i. 4. 7, &c.

sary for labour in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils universally felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand.[x]

Discouraged by the state of property,

THE mode in which property was distributed in the Spanish colonies, and the regulations established with respect to the transmission of it, whether by descent or by sale, were extremely unfavourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy.[y] But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes, many seized districts of great extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a

[x] See NOTE IX. [y] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, ii.166.

BOOK VIII. part of these into *Mayorasgos*, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence[z], which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by some of the conquerors.[a] The excesses in other provinces were similar, for as the value of the lands which the Spaniards acquired was originally estimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general so thinly peopled, that only districts of great extent could afford such a number of labourers as might be employed in the mines with any prospect of considerable gain. The pernicious effects of those radical errors in the distribution and nature of property in the Spanish settlements, are felt through every department of industry, and may be considered as one great cause of a progress in population so much slower than that which has taken place in better constituted colonies.[b]

[z] Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24.

[a] Book vi.

[b] See NOTE X.

BOOK VIII.

and the nature of their ecclesiastical policy.

To this we may add, that the support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment, has been a burden on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclesiastics, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction.[c] Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of simple and easy culture. Its more artificial and operose productions, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal, were soon declared to be tithable[d]; and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every stage

[c] Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 2.

[d] Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 3 and 4.

BOOK VIII.

of its progress, from its rudest essay to its highest improvement. To the weight of this legal imposition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from superstitious reverence for ecclesiastics of every denomination, they have bestowed profuse donatives on churches and monasteries, and have unprofitably wasted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nourished and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

But so fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithstanding all the circumstances which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increased, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among these, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, distinguished by the name of *Chapetones*, are the first in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies on the parent-state, all departments of consequence are filled by persons sent from Europe; and, in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of *Old*

Chapetones the first.

Christians, untainted with any mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the inquisition.[e] In such pure hands, power is deemed to be safely lodged, and almost every public function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every person, who, by his birth or residence in America, may be suspected of any attachment or interest adverse to the mother-country, is the object of distrust to such a degree, as amounts nearly to an exclusion from all offices of confidence or authority.[f] By this conspicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raised to such preeminence in America, that they look down with disdain on every other order of men.

Creoles the second.

THE character and state of the *Creoles*, or descendants of Europeans settled in America, the second class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, have enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages, hardly less considerable than those which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though some of the Creolian race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed

[e] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvi. l. 15, 16.

[f] See NOTE XI.

BOOK VIII.

of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a sultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that distinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigour of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgencies, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing. Languid and unenterprising, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America, they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as any trade which is permitted with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itself, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones[g]; who, as the recompense of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the Creoles, sunk in sloth, are satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

Rivalship between these.

From this stated competition for power and wealth between those two orders of citizens, and the various passions excited by a rivalship so interesting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occasion, symptoms of this aversion break out, and the common appellations which

g Voy. de Ulloa, i. 27. 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

each bestows on the other are as contemptuous as those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy.[h] The court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those seeds of discord, and foments this mutual jealousy which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent-state, but prompts each, with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

A mixed race forms the third order of citizens.

THE third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a Negro, or of an European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Mestizos*. As the court of Spain, solicitous to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards settled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies.[i] But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their sovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly, as to constitute a considerable part of the population in

[h] Gage's Survey, p. 9. Frezier, 226.

[i] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. 1. l. 2. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. v. c. 12. dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

BOOK VIII.

all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black or the copper colour of America brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each distinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first and second generations are considered and treated as mere Indians and Negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced, that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges.[k] It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on in the Spanish settlements, and other active functions in society are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride or from indolence, disdain to exercise.[l]

Negroes form the fourth order.

THE negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their services and sufferings there, shall be fully

[k] Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27.

[l] Ibid. i. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 104. Melendez, Tesoros Verdaderos, i. 354.

explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly in order to point out a peculiarity in their situation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are mostly employed in domestic service. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance are hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe.[m] Elevated by this distinction, they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where negroes seem to be more numerous, and are employed in field-work as well as domestic service, they maintain their ascendant over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other subsists with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and, by most rigorous injunctions, have endeavoured to prevent every intercourse that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spa-

[m] Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

BOOK VIII.

niards derive strength from that circumstance in population which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have secured, as associates and defenders, those very persons who elsewhere are objects of jealousy and terror.[a]

The Indians form the last order of citizens.

THE Indians form the last and the most depressed order of men in the country, which belonged to their ancestors. I have already traced the progress of the Spanish ideas with respect to the condition and treatment of that people; and have mentioned the most important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of so much consequence in the administration of their new dominions. But since the period to which I have brought down the history of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries have enabled the court of Spain to make such improvements in this part of its American system, that a short view of the present condition of the Indians may prove both curious and interesting.

Their present condition.

BY the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been so often mentioned, the

[a] Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. vii. 12. Frezier, 244.

high pretensions of the conquerors of the New World, who considered its inhabitants as slaves to whose service they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of subjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed just that they should contribute towards the support and improvement of the society which had adopted them as members. But as no considerable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular industry, and averse to labour, the court of Spain found it necessary to fix and secure, by proper regulations, what it thought reasonable to exact from them. With this view an annual tax was imposed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the same time the nature as well as the extent of the services which they might be required to perform, were ascertained with precision. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four shillings a head; no exorbitant sum in countries where, as at the source of wealth, the value of money is extremely low.* The

Tax imposed on them.

* See NOTE XII. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 461.

BOOK VIII.

right of levying this tribute likewise varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject to whom the district in which he resides has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*. In the former case, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treasury; in the latter, the same proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain first took possession of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or those who first settled there, and but a small portion reserved for the crown. As those grants, which were made for two lives only[p], reverted successively to the sovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuse his favours by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations.[q] Of these, the latter has been frequently chosen; the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown is much greater than in the first stage after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The services demanded.

THE benefit arising from the services of the Indians, accrues either to the crown, or to the

[p] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

[q] See NOTE XIII.

holder of the *encomienda*, according to the same rule observed in the payment of tribute. Those services, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the tasks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompense is granted for their labour. The stated services demanded of the Indians may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot subsist comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high roads[r]; but they cannot be constrained to labour in raising vines, olives, and sugar-canes, or any species of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit.[s] In consequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleasant task of extracting

[r] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 19. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7. 9.

[s] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. N° 41, &c.

BOOK VIII. ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by successive processes, no less unwholesome than operose.[t]

The mode of exacting these.

THE mode of exacting both these services is the same, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppressive as possible to the Indians. They are called out successively in divisions, termed *Mitas*, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any district.[u] In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred.[w] During what time the labour of such Indians as are employed in agriculture continues, I have not been able to learn.[x] But in Peru, each *mita*, or division, destined for the mines, remains there six months; and while engaged in this service, a labourer never receives less than two shillings a day, and often earns more than double that sum.[y] No Indian, residing at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the mita, or division employed in working it[z]; nor are the inhabitants of the low

[t] See NOTE XIV.
[u] Recop. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 21.
[w] Recopil. lib. vi. l. 22.
[x] See NOTE XV.
[y] Ulloa Entreten. 265, 266.
[z] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3

country exposed now to certain destruction as they were at first, when under the dominion of the conquerors, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound.[a] BOOK VIII.

How governed.

THE Indians who live in the principal towns are entirely subject to the Spanish laws and magistrates: but in their own villages they are governed by caziques, some of whom are the descendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spanish viceroys. These regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of justice transmitted to them by tradition from their ancestors. To the Indians this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, affords some consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their new masters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right.[b] For the farther relief of men so much exposed to oppression, the Spanish court has appointed an officer in every district with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to assert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the

[a] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 29. and tit. i. l. 13. See NOTE XVI.

[b] Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.

BOOK VIII.

courts of justice; and, by the interposition of his authority, to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen.[c] A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute is destined for the salary of the caziques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians.[d] Another part seems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular district is affected by any extraordinary local calamity.[e] Besides this, provision is made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians.[f] Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm, in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity.[g]

Such are the leading principles in the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to

[c] Solorz. lib. i. c. 17. p. 201. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vi.
[d] Recop. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. tit. xvi. l. 12—15.
[e] Ibid. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13.
[f] Ibid. lib. i. tit. iv. l. i. &c.
[g] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

Spain. In those regulations of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themselves of the labour of the Indians, we must allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompense that labour, is provident and sagacious. In no code of laws is greater solicitude displayed, or precautions multiplied with more prudent concern for the preservation, the security, and the happiness of the subject, than we discover in the collection of the Spanish laws for the Indies. But those latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies against the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the same causes continue to operate, the same effects must follow. From the immense distance between the power intrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whose authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the most absolute government must relax, and the dread of a superior, too remote to observe with accuracy, or to punish with dispatch, must insensibly abate. Notwithstanding the numerous in-

BOOK VIII. junctions of the Spanish monarch, the Indians still suffer on many occasions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates, who ought to have protected them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labour is prolonged beyond the period fixed by law, and they groan under many of the insults and wrongs which are the lot of independent people.[h] From some information on which I can depend, such oppression abounds more in Peru than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of those authors who are most disposed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Indians, they, in several provinces, enjoy not only ease, but affluence; they possess large farms; they are masters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and industry, are supplied not only with the necessaries, but with many luxuries of life.[i]

Ecclesiastical constitution of the colonies.

AFTER explaining the form of civil government in the Spanish colonies, and the state of the various orders of persons subject to it, the peculiarities in their ecclesiastical constitution merit consideration. Notwithstanding the

[h] See NOTE XVII.

[i] Gage's Survey, p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c.

superstitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions against the introduction of the papal dominion in America. With this view he solicited Alexander VI. for a grant to the crown of the tithes in all the newly-discovered countries[k], which he obtained on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after Julius II. conferred on him, and his successors, the right of patronage, and the absolute disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices there.[l] But these Pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed those donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have often lamented, and wished to recal. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become in effect the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is vested. Their nomination of persons to supply vacant benefices is instantly confirmed by the Pope. Thus, in all Spanish America, authority of every species centers in the crown. There no collision is known

Restraints on the papal jurisdiction.

[k] Bulla Alex. VI. A.D. 1501, ap. Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. p. 498.

[l] Bulla Julii. ii. 1508, ap. Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. 509.

BOOK VIII.

between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The King is the only superior, his name alone is heard of, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previously examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies[m]; and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclesiastics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies.[n] To this limitation of the papal jurisdiction, equally singular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand and his successors have studied to maintain it in full force[o], Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

Form and endowments of the church in the Spanish colonies.

THE hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other

[m] Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autas del Consejo de las Indias, clxi.

[n] Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55.

[o] Ibid. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55. passim.

dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of *Curas, Doctrineros,* and *Missioneros.* The first are parish priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in instructing and converting those fiercer tribes, which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the ecclesiastics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The Romish superstition appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver, and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of an European.[p] An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and extensive, is unfavourable, as has been formerly observed, to the progress of rising colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are so delighted with parade, that religion must assume it, in

[p] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 430.

BOOK VIII.

order to attract their veneration, this propensity to ostentation has been indulged, and becomes less pernicious.

Pernicious effects of monastic institutions.

THE early institution of monasteries in the Spanish colonies, and the inconsiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with consequences more fatal. In every new settlement, the first object should be to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the number and strength of the community. During the youth and vigour of society, while there is room to spread, and sustenance is procured with facility, mankind increase with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, when, with a most preposterous policy, they began to erect convents, where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purpose of nature, and to counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease, which, in sultry climates, is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowded into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are lost to society. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the New World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and

every monk or nun may be considered as an active person withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of such foundations in any situation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is so obvious, that some Catholic states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastic vows.[q] Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, seem to have been alarmed with the spreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it.[r] But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiastics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived such an high opinion of monastic sanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal; and by the excess of their ill-judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to society.[s]

BOOK VIII.

In viewing the state of colonies, where not only the number but influence of ecclesiastics is so great, the character of this powerful body

Character of ecclesiastics in Spanish America;

[q] Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124.

[r] Herrera. dec. v. lib. ix. c. 1, 2. Recop. lib. i. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. tit. iv. c. ii. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23.

[s] See NOTE XVIII.

BOOK VIII.

is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As persons long accustomed, by their education, to the retirement and indolence of academic life, are more incapable of active enterprise, and less disposed to strike into new paths, than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such, as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country. Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favourable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labour in it. The first

of the seculars;

of the regulars.

attempt to instruct and convert the Americans was made by monks; and, as soon as the conquest of any province was completed, and its ecclesiastical establishment began to assume some form, the Popes permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their services, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tithes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or being subject to his censures. In consequence of this, a new career of usefulness, as well as new objects of ambition, presented themselves. Whenever a call is made for a fresh supply of missionaries, men of the most ardent and aspiring minds, impatient under the restraint of a cloister, weary of its insipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their service with eagerness, and repair to the New World in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they pursue distinction without success. The highest ecclesiastical honours, as well as the most lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monastic orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of science which is cultivated among them. They are almost the only Spanish ecclesiastics from whom we have

BOOK VIII.

received any accounts, either of the civil or natural history of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible superstition of their profession, have published books which give a favourable idea of their abilities. The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acosta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the sixteenth century.

Dissolute manners of some of them.

But the same disgust with monastic life, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge; and far removed, by their situation, from the inspection of their monastic superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan[u], they are hardly subject to any control. According to the testimony of the most zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements

[u] Avendano Thes. Indic. ii. 253.

are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no less flagrant violation of their vow of chastity, indulge with little disguise in the most dissolute licentiousness.[x]

VARIOUS schemes have been proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and so offensive. Several persons, no less eminent for piety than discernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloisters, and should no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the secular clergy. Some public-spirited magistrates, from conviction of its being necessary to deprive the regulars of a privilege bestowed at first with good intention, but of which time and experience had discovered

[x] See NOTE XIX.

BOOK VIII. 1618. the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the secular clergy in their attempts to assert their own rights. The Prince D'Esquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III., took measures so decisive and effectual for circumscribing the regulars within their proper sphere, as struck them with general consternation.[y] They had recourse to their usual arts. They alarmed the superstitious, by representing the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain persons in power; and seconded by the powerful influence of the Jesuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impression on a bigoted prince, and a weak ministry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuses which it occasioned continued to increase, and the corruption of monks, exempt from the restraints of discipline, and the inspection of any superior, became a disgrace to religion. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monastic orders June 25. 1557. began to abate, and the power of the Jesuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by issuing an edict, prohibiting regulars of every deno-

[y] See NOTE XX.

mination from taking the charge of any parish with the cure of souls; and declaring, that on the demise of the present incumbents, none but secular priests subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesans, shall be presented to vacant benefices.[z] If this regulation is carried into execution with steadiness in any degree proportional to the wisdom with which it is framed, a very considerable reformation may take place in the ecclesiastical state of Spanish America, and the secular clergy may gradually become a respectable body of men. The deportment of many ecclesiastics, even at present, seems to be decent and exemplary, otherwise we can hardly suppose that they would be held in such high estimation, and possess such a wonderful ascendant over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spanish settlements.

Small progress in converting the Indians to Christianity.

But whatever merit the Spanish ecclesiastics in America may possess, the success of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardour

[z] Real Cedula MS. penes me.

and

BOOK VIII.

to make proselytes, admitted the people of America into the Christian church, without previous instruction in the doctines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge of the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives the mysteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtle distinction in scholastic theology, between that degree of assent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of people, overawed by dread of the Spanish power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion continued, a single clergyman baptized in one day above five thousand Mexicans, and did not desist until he was so exhausted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hands.[a] In the course of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of bap-

[a] P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mond. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.

tism was administered to more than four millions.[b] Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors are still remembered and held in honour by many of the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites.[c]

But this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated understandings are so limited, their observa-

[b] Torribio, MS. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 8.

[c] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 341. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. lib. xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

BOOK VIII.

tions and reflections reach so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them. To such men the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be, in a great measure, incomprehensible. The numerous and splendid ceremonies of the popish worship catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which those external observances are connected, though the Indians may listen with patience, they so little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and engrossed by the objects before them, the Indians so seldom reflect upon what is past, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promises nor threats of religion make much impression upon them; and while their foresight rarely extends so far as the next day, it is almost impossible to inspire them with solicitude about the concerns of a future world. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension, and at their insensibility, some of the early missionaries pronounced them a race of men so brutish, as to be incapable of under-

standing the first principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the sacrament of the Eucharist.[d] Though Paul III., by his famous bull issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Christians[e]; yet, after the lapse of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion.[f] From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. established the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of that severe tribunal[g], and still continue under the inspection of their diocesans. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that few Indians

[d] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20.
[e] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 25. Garcia origin. 311.
[f] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 343. [g] Recop. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 35.

BOOK VIII. are either ordained priests, or received into any religious order.[b]

Productions of the Spanish colonies.

FROM this brief survey, some idea may be formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they supply and enrich the mother-country, and the system of commercial intercourse between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of such moderate extent, as bore a due proportion to the parent state, the progress of her colonizing might have been attended with the same benefit as that of other nations. But when, in less than half a century, her inconsiderate rapacity had seized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill such vast regions with a number of inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them was so obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact settlements, where industry, circumscribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that sober persevering spirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to a proper use, and derives thence the greatest advantage. Instead

[b] Torquem. lib. xvii. c. 13. See NOTE XXI.

of this, the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of great extent. As their number was too small to attempt the regular culture of the immense provinces which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of sudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of industry, which lead more slowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength. BOOK VIII.

From their mines.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men, who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to settle, by

BOOK VIII.

the prospect of their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those in which they met with a disappointment of the sanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompense of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

Discovery of those of Potosi and Sacotecas.

DURING several years, the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545[1], by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were

[1] Fernandez, p. 1. lib. xi. c. 11.

opened. From that time, successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firmè, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

Riches which they yield.

THE exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures astonished mankind, who had been accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals, from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered, to the

BOOK VIII.

present time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in consideration of treasure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain, without paying duty to the King. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth, amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds sterling.[k]

Spirit to which this gives rise.

THE mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expense of the crown or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers and works a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim to such a discovery before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the customary duty to the King, for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure; not only the sanguine and the

[k] Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Commercia, c. 3. Herrera. dec. viii. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE XXII.

bold, but the timid and diffident, enter upon it with astonishing ardour. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of *searchers*. These are commonly persons of desperate fortune, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expense must be trifling, they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed; a small sum is advanced by each copartner; the mine is opened; the *searcher*

BOOK VIII.

is intrusted with the sole direction of every operation: unforeseen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but, amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enter this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit; visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else.[1]

Fatal effects of it.

SUCH is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society, are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvements in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislator would have been exerted with as much ardour in restraining its subjects from such pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of "mining," (says a good judge of the political conduct of nations,) "instead of replacing the

[1] Ulloa Entreten. p. 223.

"capital employed in them, together with the "ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb "both capital and profit, They are the pro- "jects, therefore, to which, of all others, "a prudent lawgiver, who desired to increase "the capital of his nation, would least choose "to give any extraordinary encouragement, "or to turn towards them a greater share of "that capital than would go to them of its "own accord. Such, in reality, is the absurd "confidence which all men have in their own "good fortune, that wherever there is the "least probability of success, too great a share "of it is apt to go to them of its own ac- "cord."[m] But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depress, and, by the sanction of its approbation, augments that inconsiderate credulity, which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which Spanish America has made, during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation, which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals every bounty of nature is so much

[m] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155.

BOOK VIII.

despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards settled there, denominate a country *rich*, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now so difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased, the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind.[n]

Other commodities of the Spanish colonies.

But though mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which these yield form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they possess there abound with other commodities of such value or scarcity, as to

[n] See NOTE XXIII.

attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of such demand in commerce, that the sale is always certain, and yet yields such profit, as amply rewards the labour and care employed in rearing the curious insects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jesuits' Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in compassion to human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The Indigo of Guatimala is superior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a considerable extent. Cacao, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and, from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavour than any brought from the New World; the Sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added an article of no inconsiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of those which I have enu-

BOOK VIII.

merated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country, than to their own foresight and industry. The domestic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almost exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards settled there, the herds of tame cattle became so numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thousands.[o] Less attention being paid to them, as they continued to increase, they were suffered to run wild, and spreading over a country of boundless extent, under a mild climate, and covered with rich pasture, their number became immense. They range over the vast plains which extend from Buenos Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thousand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed several days before he can disentangle himself from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and seems to have no end. They are hardly less numerous in New Spain, and in several other provinces: they are killed merely for the sake of their hides; and the slaughter at certain seasons is so great that the stench of their carcases, which are left in the field,

[o] Oviedo ap. Ramus, iii. 101. B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.

would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vast flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the most voracious of all the feathered kind, did not instantly devour them. The number of those hides exported in every fleet to Europe is very great, and is a lucrative branch of commerce.[p]

ALMOST all these may be considered as staple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that last mentioned, from the productions of the mother-country.

Advantages which Spain derives from her colonies.

WHEN the importation into Spain of those various articles from her colonies first became active and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures were in a state so prosperous, that with the product of these she was able both to purchase the commodities of the New World, and to answer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V., Spain was one of the most industrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and silk, were so extensive, as not only to furnish what was sufficient for her own consumption, but to afford a surplus for exportation. When a

[p] Acosta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hist. of Chili. Church. Collect. iii. 47. sept. Ibid. v. p. 680. 692. Lettres Edif. xiii. 235. Feuille, i. 249.

BOOK VIII.

market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her domestic store, and found there an abundant supply.[q] This new employment must naturally have added vivacity to the spirit of industry. Nourished and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain, might have gone on increasing in the same proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the state of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain is said to have possessed above a thousand merchant-ships[r], a number probably far superior to that of any nation in Europe in that age. By the aid which foreign trade and domestic industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress, the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive, and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigour from her acquisitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Why she does not now derive the same.

But various causes prevented this. The same thing happens to nations as to individuals.

[q] See NOTE XXIV. [r] Campomanes, ii. 140.

Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increase, feeds and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well-conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in suddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry, and brings along with it a taste for what is wild and extravagant, and daring in business or in action. Such was the great and sudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the possession of America brought into Spain; and some symptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy soon began to appear. For a considerable time, however, the supply of treasure from the New World was scanty and precarious; and the genius of Charles V. conducted public measures with such prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, with talents far inferior to those of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and considerable branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the state of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conspicuous. Philip, possessing that spirit of unceasing assiduity, which often characterises the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained such an high opinion of

BOOK VIII.

his own resources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himself in the solitude of the Escurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrisons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By such a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardour during the course of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III., the vigour of the nation continued to decrease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, at the very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its strength. Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, she was obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was lost. The trade between different parts of her

A.D. 1611.

own dominions was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on were taken and plundered by enemies whom she once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raised what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants.

Rapid decline of its trade.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent-state declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increase. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deserted the paths of industry, to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence issued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the strength of the colonies augmented by exhausting that of the mother-country. All those emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at first settled in America, depended absolutely upon Spain for almost every article of necessary consumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative pursuits, or prevented by restraints which government imposed, they could not turn their own attention towards establishing the manufactures requisite for comfortable subsistence. They received (as I have observed in another

BOOK VIII.

place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever ministers to the ease or luxury of life, and even their instruments of labour, from Europe. Spain, thinned of people, and decreasing in industry, was unable to supply their growing demands. She had recourse to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low-Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into existence, or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the exclusion of foreigners from trade with America, oppose this innovation. Necessity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operation, and constrained the Spaniards themselves to concur in eluding it. The English, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are sold there, either in specie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit, ever induced a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in him[s]; and that probity, which is the pride and distinction of the nation, con-

[s] Zavala Representacion, p. 226.

tributes to its ruin. In a short time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric.[t] All the rest was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe, it was anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. That wealth which, by an internal circulation, would have spread through each vein of industry, and have conveyed life and movement to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with such a rapid course, as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artisans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick sale of their commodities, improved so much in skill and industry, as to be able to afford them at a rate so low, that the manufactures of Spain which could not vie with theirs, either in quality or cheapness of work, were still farther depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faster and more completely than even the extravagant schemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was so much astonished and distressed, at beholding her American treasures vanish almost

[t] Campomanes, ii. 138.

BOOK VIII.

as soon as they were imported, that Philip III., unable to supply what was requisite in circulation, issued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raise copper-money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of silver[u]; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

THUS the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a source of population and of wealth to her, in the same manner as those of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the spirit of industry subsists in full vigour, every person settled in such colonies as are similar in their situation to those of Spain is supposed to give employment to three or four at home in supplying his wants.[x] But wherever the mother-country cannot afford this supply, every emigrant may be considered as a citizen lost to the community, and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

Increased by the mode of regulating its intercourse with America.

SUCH has been the internal state of Spain from the close of the sixteenth century, and such her inability to supply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this dis-

[u] Uztarez, c. 104. [x] Child on Trade and Colonies.

proportion between their demands, and her capacity of answering them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourse between the mother-country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her subjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and systematic arrangements have arisen. These are so singular in their nature and consequences as to merit a particular explanation. In order to secure the monopoly at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better understood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the East and West Indies, to exclusive companies. The English, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with respect to the East-Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a similar restraint upon some branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, devise a method for checking the progress of industry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The interest of the colony, and of the exclusive company,

BOOK VIII.

must in every point be diametrically opposite; and as the latter possesses such advantages in this unequal contest, that it can prescribe at pleasure the terms of intercourse, the former must not only buy dear and sell cheap, but must suffer the mortification of having the increase of its surplus stock discouraged by those very persons to whom alone it can dispose of its productions.[y]

This confined to one port in Spain.

SPAIN, it is probable, was preserved from falling into this error of policy, by the high ideas which she early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and silver were commodities of too high a value to vest a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wished to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting; and, in order to secure that, ordained the cargo of every ship fitted out for America to be inspected by the officers of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought should be made to the same board, before it could be permitted to land them. In consequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centered originally in the

[y] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171.

port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the sixteenth century almost to our own times. For the greater security of the valuable cargoes sent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets which sail under strong convoys. These fleets, consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of the *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have sailed from it since the year 1720.

Carried on by the Galeons.

THE Galeons destined to supply Tierra Firmè, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of luxury, or necessary consumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch first at Carthagena, and then at Porto-bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and several other provinces, resort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the season when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in these two kingdoms, together with their other valuable com-

BOOK VIII.

modities, is transported by sea to Panama. From thence, as soon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed across the isthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagre to Porto-bello. This paltry village, the climate of which, from the pernicious union of excessive heat, continual moisture, and the putrid exhalations arising from a rank soil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the residence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miserable garrison relieved every three months, Porto-bello assumes suddenly a very different aspect, and its streets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its prescribed term of forty days, the richest traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finished, with that simplicity of transaction and that unbounded confidence, which accompany extensive commerce.[z] The Flota holds its course to Vera Cruz. The treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Puebla de los Angeles, in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither; and the commercial operations

and Flota.

[z] See NOTE XXV.

of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto-bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe. BOOK VIII.

THE trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower the value of them at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent., are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies.[a] From the same engrossing Bad effects of this arrangement.

[a] B. Ulloa Retabliss. part ii. p. 191.

BOOK VIII.

spirit it frequently happens, that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete assortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants such goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are sold in the colonies. With the same vigilant jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavour to check the progress of every one whose encroachments they dread.[b] This restraint of the American commerce to one port, not only affects its domestic state, but limits its foreign operations. A monopolist may acquire more, and certainly will hazard less, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extensive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his interest not to enlarge, but to circumscribe the sphere of his activity; and, instead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial industry, it may be the object of his attention to check and set bounds to them. By some such maxim, the mercantile policy of Spain seems to have regulated its intercourse with America. Instead of furnish-

[b] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438.

ing the colonies with European goods in such quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition amongst customers, obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable the Spanish factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burden of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons.[c] The supply which such a fleet could carry must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the necessaries of life.

Remedies proposed.

SPAIN early became sensible of her declension from her former prosperity; and many respectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding

[c] Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 10.

BOOK VIII.

a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended that, in order to check illicit commerce, every person convicted of carrying it on should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects.[d] Others, forgetting the distinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, insisted, that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes reserved for the cognizance of the Inquisition; that such as were guilty of it might be tried and punished, according to the secret and summary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurisdiction.[e] Others, uninstructed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclusive companies, which interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the incroachment of the interlopers.[f]

Besides these wild projects, many schemes, better digested and more beneficial, were suggested. But under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. In-

[d] M. de Santa Cruz Commercia Suelto, p. 142.
[e] Moncada Restauracion politica de Espagna, p. 41.
[f] Zavalla y Augnon Representacion, &c. p. 190.

stead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V., they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II.; and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domestic as well as foreign, languished. These evils continued to increase; and Spain, with dominions more extensive and more opulent than any European state, possessed neither vigour, nor money[g], nor industry. At length, the violence of a great national convulsion roused the slumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the dispute concerning the succession of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in some degree, the ancient spirit and vigour of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting sentiments more liberal than those which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the course of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected source the means of availing itself of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretensions either of the Austrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spanish throne, sent formidable fleets and armies to their sup-

[g] See NOTE XXVI.

BOOK VIII.

port; France, England, and Holland remitted immense sums to Spain. These were spent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treasure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the most intelligent Spanish authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquisition of a fund of circulating specie, in some measure adequate to the exigencies of the public.[h]

Step towards improvement by the Bourbon monarchs,

As soon as the Bourbons obtained quiet possession of the throne, they discerned this change in the spirit of the people, and in the state of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain remarkable for superiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happiness of their subjects, and solicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the first object of Philip V. to suppress an innovation which had crept in during the course of the war, and had overturned the whole system of the Spanish commerce with America. The English and Dutch, by their superiority in

[h] Campomanes, i. 420.

BOOK VIII.

naval power, having acquired such command of the sea, as to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furnish her subjects in America those necessaries of life, without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treasure, departed so far from the usual rigour of its maxims as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in stinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America, in such abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore issued, prohibiting the admission of foreign vessels into any port of Peru or Chili[i], and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South

by excluding foreigners from trade with Peru;

1713.

[i] Frezier Voy. 256. B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104, &c. Alcedo y Herrera. Aviso, &c. 236.

BOOK VIII. Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

by checking contraband trade.

But though on the cessation of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial system, she was exposed to another which she deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Ann to conclude a peace, which France and Spain desired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto-bello a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in the towns of most extensive trade, and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what

particularly of the English Assiento company.

commodities might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. In consequence of information so authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish main, were enabled to assort and proportion their cargoes so exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the most fatal consequence of the Assiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the British South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorised to make by the ship sent annually to Porto-bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish continent, without limitation or restraint. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons, as stipulated in the treaty, they usually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burthen. She was accompanied by two or three smaller vessels, which, mooring in some neighbouring creek, supplied her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, to replace such as were sold. The inspectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant presents, connived at the fraud.[k] Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the

See NOTE XXVII.

BOOK VIII.

activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was engrossed by foreigners. The immense commerce of the 1737. Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, sunk to nothing, and the squadron itself reduced from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons[1], served hardly any purpose but to fetch home the royal revenue arising from the fifth on silver.

Guarda Costas employed for this purpose.

WHILE Spain observed those encroachments, and felt so sensibly their pernicious effects, it was impossible not to make some effort to restrain them. Her first expedient was to station ships of force, under the appellation of *Guarda Costas*, upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. As private interest concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded those vessels vigilant and active, some check was given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions so extensive, and so accessible by sea, hardly any number of cruisers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse, which had been carried on with so much facility, that the merchants in the

[1] Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i. 436.

British colonies were accustomed to consider it almost as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. These, authorised, in some measure, and rendered more interesting, by several unjustifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish Guarda Costas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain; in consequence of which the latter obtained a final release from the Assiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power. 1739.

The use of register ships introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the English on their American trade, had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one of sending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe; but long experience had shown it to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it

BOOK VIII.

wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favourable opportunity; an ample supply was poured in by interlopers from the English, the French, and Dutch islands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets so glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain has permitted a considerable part of her commerce with America to be carried on by *register-ships*. These are fitted out during the intervals between the stated seasons when the Galeons and Flota sail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are destined for those ports in America where any extraordinary demand is foreseen or expected. By this expedient, such a regular supply of the commodities, for which there is the greatest demand, is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the same prospect of excessive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the same necessity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

BOOK VIII.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register-ships increased; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aside. From that period there has been no intercourse with Chili and Peru but by single ships, dispatched from time to time as occasion requires, and when the merchants expect a profitable market will open. These ships sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people settled in those countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-bello or Panama. These towns, as has been formerly observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their prosperity. This disadvantage, however, is more than compensated by the beneficial effects of this new arrangement, as the whole continent of South America receives new supplies of European commodities with so much regularity, and in such abundance, as must not only contribute greatly to the happiness, but increase the population of all the colonies settled there. But as all the register-ships destined for the South Seas must still take their departure from Cadiz, and are

The Galeons abolished.

BOOK VIII.

obliged to return thither[m], this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it, which I have already described.

Schemes for reviving commerce.

NOR has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flourishing colonies; it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new tastes which the people of Europe have acquired, in consequence of importing the productions of those countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the most universal. The use of this liquor made with a paste, formed of the nut or almond of the cacao-tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, so palatable, so nourishing, and so wholesome, that it has become a commercial article of considerable importance. The cacao-tree grows spontaneously in several parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the best quality,

[m] Campomanes, i. 434. 440.

next to those of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firmè. In consequence of this acknowledged superiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extensive than in any district of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their settlements in the small islands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coast of Caraccas, gradually engrossed the greatest part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceased almost entirely; and such was the supine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no less disgraceful than pernicious to his subjects, Philip V., in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants an exclusive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expense, a sufficient number of armed vessels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society, distinguished sometimes by the name of the company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes

by establishing the Company of Caraccas.

BOOK VIII.

by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with such vigour and success, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied with an article of extensive consumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent-state, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies, whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry, instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner by several salutary regulations, framed upon foresight of such bad effects, and of purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the sale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary islands have the privilege of sending thither annually a register-ship of considerable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase, and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural

and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or of degrading the latter at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caraccas, has been very considerable.[n]

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

But as it is slowly that nations relinquish any system which time has rendered venerable, and as it is still more slowly that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow, Philip V., in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid such deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the register-ships which returned from Peru, and those of the Guipuscoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, sentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations, to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pyrenees. In the researches of ingenious authors, concerning the police or

[n] See NOTE XXVIII.

BOOK VIII.

commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with respect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with the reproaches of these authors, or convinced by their arguments, and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, seem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have so long retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne, that Spain is indebted for the first public regulation formed in consequence of such enlarged indeas.

Establishment of regular packet-boats.

While Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning her commerce with America, she was so much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American settlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operation of the state, as well as the business of individuals, were retarded or

conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was sensibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. surmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet-boats to be dispatched on the first day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in smaller vesels to Vera Cruz and Porto-bello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet-boats sail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a speedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vast dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom.[o] With this new arrangement a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats,

[o] Pontz Viage de Espagna, vi. Prol. p. 15.

32556

BOOK VIII.

which are vessels of some considerable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of such commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for these they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions.[p] This may be considered as the first relaxation of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

Free trade permitted to several provinces.

It was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each province, which are specified in the edict at any season, and with whatever cargo they deemed most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppressive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of six in the hundred on the commodities sent from

[p] Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

Spain. He allowed them to return either to the same port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo, on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been labouring, for two centuries and a half, to throw round its commercial intercourse with the New World, was soon after extended to Louisiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy.[q]

Beneficial effects of it.

THE propriety of this innovation, which may be considered as the most liberal effort of Spanish legislation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconsiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was engrossed almost entirely by interlopers. But as soon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourse with those provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progression, of which there are few examples in the history of nations. In less than ten years, the trade

[q] Append. *m* Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

BOOK VIII.

of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in those settlements where, from the languishing state of industry, greater efforts were requisite to restore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that such a number of ships is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the most flourishing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arangement are not confined to a few merchants, established in a favourite port. They are diffused through every province of the kingdom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, must encourage and add vivacity to the industry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports; it derives advantage likewise from what it receives in return, and has the prospect of being soon able to supply itself with several commodities of extensive consumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The consumption of sugar in Spain is perhaps as great, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though possessed of countries in the New World, whose soil and climate are most proper for rearing the sugar-cane; though the domestic culture of that valuable plant in the

kingdom of Granada was once considerable; such has been the fatal tendency of ill-judged institutions in America, and such the pressure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has lost almost entirely this branch of industry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchase of foreigners, and had the mortification to see their country drained annually of great sums on that account.[r] But if that spirit, which the permission of free trade has put in motion, shall persevere in its efforts with the same vigour, the cultivation of sugar in Cuba and Porto-Rico may increase so much, that in a few years, it is probable, that their growth of sugars may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted between the colonies.

SPAIN has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial consequences resulting from having relaxed somewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with respect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourse of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old system, all the provinces situated on the South Seas were prohibited, under the most

[r] Uztariz, c. 94.

BOOK VIII.

severe penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though each of these yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happiness of their respective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progress in industry, so solicitous was the Council of the Indies to prevent their receiving any supply of their wants, but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that in order to guard against this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in the southern provinces of New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from such a correspondence with their fellow-subjects, as tended manifestly to their mutual prosperity. Of all the numerous restrictions devised by Spain for securing the exclusive trade with her American settlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none seems to have been more sensibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coëval with the settlements of Spain in the countries situated on the Pacific Ocean, is at last redressed. In the year 1774, Charles III. published an edict, granting to the four great provinces which I have mentioned the privilege of a free trade with each other.[s] What may be the effects of

[s] Real Cedula penes me. Pontz Viage de Espagna, vi. Prologo. p. 2. NOTE XXIX.

opening this communication between countries destined by their situation for reciprocal intercourse, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extensive. The motives for granting this permission are manifestly no less laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both discover the progress of a spirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her system for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of her colonies, was originally founded.

New regulations concerning the government of the colonies.

At the same time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, suggested by more enlarged views of policy, into her system of American commerce, she has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here, too, there was much room for reformation and improvement; and Don Joseph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the best opportunities, not only of observing the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of discovering the sources of those evils. After being employed seven years in the New World on an extraordinary mission, and with very extensive powers, as inspector-general of New Spain;

BOOK VIII.

after visiting in person the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making several important alterations in the state of the police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general reformation of the tribunals of justice in America. In consequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much, that the number of judges of which they were originally composed has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the salaries settled upon them have been deemed inferior to the dignity of the station. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each Court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments.[t]

Reformation of the courts of justice.

New distribution of government.

To the same intelligent minister Spain is indebted for a new distribution of government in its American provinces. Even since the establishment of a third viceroyalty in the New Kingdom of Granada, so great is the extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each viceroy were at such an enormous distance from

[t] Gazeta de Madrid, 19th March, 1776.

the capitals in which they resided, that neither their attention, nor their authority, could reach so far. Some provinces subordinate to the viceroy of New Spain lay above two thousand miles from Mexico. There were countries subject to the viceroy of Peru still farther from Lima. The people in those remote districts could hardly be said to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppression and insolence of its inferior ministers they often feel, and rather submit to these in silence, than involve themselves in the expense and trouble of resorting to the distant capitals, where alone they can find redress. As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, to the jurisdiction of which are subjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St[a] Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well-judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniences occasioned by the remote situation of those provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of, are, in a great measure, removed. The countries most distant from Lima are separated from the viceroyalty of Peru; and united under a superior, whose seat of government at Buenos-Ayres will be commodious and accessible. The contraband trade with the Portuguese, which was become so

New viceroyalty, Aug. 1776, on Rio de la Plata.

BOOK VIII.

extensive, as must have put a final stop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her southern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the supreme magistrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can view its progress and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raised to this new dignity, with appointments equal to those of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the state and the interest of the countries over which he is to preside, having served in them long, and with distinction. By this dismemberment, succeeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the new kingdom of Granada, almost two-third parts of the territories, originally subject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their jurisdiction.

New government in provinces of Sonora, &c.

THE limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewise been considerably circumscribed, and with no less propriety and discernment. Four of its most remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a separate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intrusted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank; but his

jurisdiction is altogether independent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late discoveries made there which I have mentioned.[u] Countries containing the richest mines of gold that have hitherto been discovered in the New World, and which probably may arise into great importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor, to whom they should be specially committed. As every consideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertions as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be considerable. Many districts in America, long depressed by the langour and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour and activity, when brought so near the seat of power as to feel its invigorating influence. BOOK VIII.

Such, since the accession of the princes of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, Attempts to reform domestic policy.

[u] Book vii.

BOOK VIII.

has been the progress of their regulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestic errors and defects in policy. Fully sensible of the causes to which the declension of Spain, from her former prosperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures, as may enable them to supply the demands of America from their own stock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accomplish, by a variety of edicts issued since the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have either entirely prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, such foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have instituted societies for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated districts of Spain,

and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to every expedient devised by commercial wisdom, or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other nations. These, however, it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with such advantages, derived from the large capitals and extensive credit of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business, that the state which aims at rivalling or supplanting them, must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance slowly. If the quantity of productive industry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the last listless monarchs of the Austrian line, its progress must appear considerable, and is sufficient to alarm the jealousy, and to call forth the most vigorous efforts of the nations now in possession of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wresting from them. One circumstance may render those exertions of Spain

BOOK VIII.

an object of more serious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be ascribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its ministers. The sentiments and spirit of the people seem to second the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with respect to commerce, but domestic policy. In all the later Spanish writers, defects in the arrangements of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies proposed, which ignorance rendered their ancestors incapable of discerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confess.* But after all that the Spaniards have done much remains to do. Many pernicious institutions, and abuses, deeply incorporated with the system of internal policy and taxation which has been long established in Spain, must be abolished before industry and manufactures can recover an extensive activity.

Contraband trade.

STILL, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with respect to her colonies are too rigid and systematical to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions too severe, defeats its own in-

* See NOTE XXX.

tention, and is only multiplying the inducements to violate its statutes, and proposing an high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, being circumscribed in their mutual intercourse by the jealousy of the crown, or oppressed by its exactions, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which public wisdom cannot foresee, nor public authority prevent. This spirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the highest departments in government descends to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade are often employed as instruments in carrying it on; and the boards instituted to restrain and punish it are the channels through which it flows. The King is supposed, by the most intelligent Spanish writers, to be defrauded, by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America[y]; and as long as it is the interest of so many persons to screen those artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How "many ordinances," says Corita, "how many

[y] Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. v.

BOOK VIII.

"instructions, how many letters from our sovereign, are sent in order to correct abuses, and how little are they observed, and what small advantage is derived from them! To me the old observation appears just, that where there are many physicians, and many medicines, there is a want of health; where there are many laws, and many judges, there is want of justice. We have viceroys, presidents, governors, oydors, corrigidors, alcaldes, and thousands of alguazils abound every where; but notwithstanding all these, public abuses continue to multiply."[z] Time has increased the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A spirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the seat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return speedily from what they are apt to consider as a state of exile in a remote unhealthful country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be resisted, and seduced by the example of those around them; find their sentiments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life they give themselves up to a dissolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their sovereign and to their country.

[z] MS. penes me.

BOOK VIII.

Trade between New Spain and the Philippines.

BEFORE I close this account of the Spanish trade in America, there remains one detached, but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain.[a] Manilà, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippine islands under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the East and West was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain. 1564.

[a] Torquem. i. lib. v. c. 14.

BOOK VIII.

After various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which are permitted to carry out silver to the amount of five hundred thousand pesos[b]; but they have hardly any thing else of value on board; in return for which, they bring back spices, drugs, china, and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muslins, silks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, has enabled the East to supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might send annually a ship to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the vessels from Manila, and receive a proportional share of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded from this trade by most rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the East reserved solely for the consumption of New Spain.

In consequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more suited to a warm climate, and more showy than those of Europe, but can be sold at a

[b] Recop. lib. ix. c. 45. l. 6.

lower price; while, at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable, as to enrich all those who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and seller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in spite of regulations concerted with the most anxious jealousy to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, great quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain[c]; and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz from Europe, it often finds the wants of the people already supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

THERE is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumstance more inexplicable than the permission of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother-country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourse that might suggest to them the idea of receiving a supply of their wants from any other quarter. This permission must appear still more extraordinary,

[c] See NOTE XXXI.

BOOK VIII.

from considering that Spain herself carries on no direct trade with her settlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies which she denies to her subjects in Europe. It is probable, that the colonists who originally took possession of the Philippines, having been sent out from New Spain, begun this intercourse with a country which they considered, in some measure, as their parent-state, before the court of Madrid was aware of its consequences, or could establish regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila seems to be as considerable as ever, and may be considered as one chief cause of the elegance and splendour conspicuous in this part of the Spanish dominions.

Public revenue from America.

But notwithstanding this general corruption in the colonies of Spain, and the diminution of the income belonging to the public, occasioned by the illicit importations made by foreigners, as well as by the various frauds of which the colonists themselves are guilty in their commerce with the parent-state, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable revenue from their American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the King, as sovereign, or superior lord of the New World: to this class belongs the duty on the gold and silver raised from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of signiory*, the latter is the *duty of vassalage*. The second branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppress it in every step of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant, to the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the King, as head of the church, and administrator of ecclesiastical funds in the New World. In consequence of this he receives the first fruits, annates, spoils, and other spiritual revenues, levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewise to the profit arising from the sale of

BOOK VIII.

the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing those bulls extol their virtues with all the fervour of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, listen with implicit assent; and every person in the Spanish colonies, of European, Creolian or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government.[d]

Its amount.

WHAT may be the amount of those various funds, it is almost impossible to determine with precision. The extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealousy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterious silence which the Spaniards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil, which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no less accurate than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with re-

[d] See NOTE XXXII.

spect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account, the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half must be deducted as the expense of the provincial establishment.[e] Peru, it is probable, yields a sum not inferior to this; and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value, we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain, raised in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling.[f] This falls far short of the immense sums to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raised the Spanish revenue in America. It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers who derive a direct revenue from their colonies. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade; but beside this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute towards increasing the power of the state; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional share of the common burden.

[e] See NOTE XXXIII. [f] See NOTE XXXIV.

BOOK VIII.

ACCORDINGLY, the sum which I have computed to be the amount of the Spanish revenue from America arises wholly from the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the King from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties imposed on the commodities exported from Spain to America[s], as well as what is paid by those which she sends home in return; the tax upon the negro-slaves, with which Africa supplies the New World, together with several smaller branches of finance, bring large sums into the treasury, the precise extent of which I cannot pretend to ascertain.

Expense of administration.

BUT if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expense of administration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domestic police and finances, Spain has adopted a system more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation, in which the sovereign possesses such extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and her endeavours to guard against fraud in provinces

[s] See NOTE XXXV.

so remote from inspection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expense of living is great, the salaries allotted to every person in public office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the new kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the King's person, among people fond of ostentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of power, displaying such pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expense incurred by supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have, besides, peculiar appointments suited to their exalted station. The salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate; that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats; and that of the viceroy of Mexico, twenty thousand ducats.[h] Of late they have been raised to forty thousand.

[h] Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72.

BOOK VIII.

THESE salaries, however, constitute but a small part of the revenue enjoyed by the viceroys. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them many opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, which may be considered as legal and allowed emoluments, large sums are often added by exactions, which, in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolising some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue, as no subject of any European monarch enjoys.[1] From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his *Name-day*, (which is always observed as an high festival,) I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive sixty thousand pesos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Sensible of this, the Kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission to their viceroys only for a few

[1] See NOTE XXXVI.

years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is hastening fast to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue that remains unseduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOKS IX. AND X.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

TO THE YEAR 1688; AND

THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND

TO THE YEAR 1652.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE original plan of my father, the late Dr. Robertson, with respect to the History of America, comprehended not only an account of the discovery of that country, and of the conquests and colonies of the Spaniards, but embraced also the history of the British and Portuguese establishments in the New World, and of the Settlements made by the several nations of Europe in the West-India Islands. It was his intention not to have published any part of the Work until the whole was completed. In the Preface to his History of America, he has stated the reasons which induced him to depart from that resolution, and to publish the Two volumes which contain an account of the discovery of the New World, and of the progress of the Spanish arms and colonies in that quarter of the globe. He says, "he had made some progress in the History of British America;" and he announces his intention to return to that part of his Work, as soon as the ferment which at that time prevailed in the British Colonies in America should subside, and regular government be re-established. Various causes concurred in preventing him from fulfilling his intention.

DURING the course of a tedious illness, which he early foresaw would have a fatal termination, Dr. Robertson at different times destroyed many of his papers. But after his death, I found that part of the History of British America which he had wrote many years before, and which is now offered to the Public. It is written with his own hand, as all his Works were; it is as carefully corrected as any part of his manuscripts which I have ever seen; and he had thought it worthy of being preserved, as it escaped the flames to which so many other papers had been committed. I read it with the utmost attention; but, before I came to any resolution about the publication, I put the MS. into the hands of some of those friends whom my father used to consult on such occasions, as it would have been rashness and presumption in me to have trusted to my own partial decision. It was perused by some other persons also, in whose taste and judgment I have the greatest confidence: by all of them I was encouraged to offer it to the Public, as a fragment curious and interesting in itself, and not inferior to any of my father's works.

When I determined to follow that advice, it was a circumstance of great weight with me, that as I never could think myself at liberty to

destroy those papers, which my father had thought worthy of being preserved, and as I could not know into whose hands they might hereafter fall, I considered it as certain that they would be published at some future period, when they might meet with an Editor who, not being actuated by the same sacred regard for the reputation of the Author, which I feel, might make alterations and additions, and obtrude the whole on the public as a genuine and authentic work. The MS. is now published, such as it was left by the Author; nor have I presumed to make any addition, alteration, or correction whatever.

WM. ROBERTSON.

QUEEN-STREET, EDINBURGH,
April, 1796.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK IX.

THE dominions of Great Britain in America are next in extent to those of Spain. Its acquisitions there are a recompense due to those enterprising talents which prompted the English to enter early on the career of discovery, and to pursue it with persevering ardour. England was the second nation that ventured to visit the New World. The account of Columbus's successful voyage filled all Europe with astonishment and admiration. But in England it did something more; it excited a vehement desire of emulating the glory of Spain, and of aiming to obtain some share in those advantages which were expected in this new field opened to national activity.

Spirit of adventure awakened in England by Columbus's discoveries;

BOOK IX.

The attention of the English court had been turned towards the discovery of unknown countries, by its negotiation with Bartholomew Columbus. Henry VII., having listened to his propositions with a more favourable ear than could have been expected from a cautious, distrustful prince, averse by habit as well as by temper to new and hazardous projects, he was more easily induced to approve of a voyage for discovery, proposed by some of his own subjects, soon after the return of Christopher Columbus.

checked by unskilfulness in navigation.

But though the English had spirit to form the scheme, they had not, at that period, attained to such skill in navigation as qualified them for carrying it into execution. From the inconsiderate ambition of its monarchs, the nation had long wasted its genius and activity in pernicious and ineffectual efforts to conquer France. When this ill-directed ardour began to abate, the fatal contest between the houses of York and Lancaster turned the arms of one half of the kingdom against the other, and exhausted the vigour of both. During the course of two centuries, while industry and commerce were making gradual progress, both in the south and north of Europe, the English continued so blind to the advantages of their own situation, that they hardly began

to bend their thoughts towards those objects and pursuits, to which they are indebted for their present opulence and power. While the trading vessels of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as those of the Hans Towns, visited the most remote ports in Europe, and carried on an active intercourse with its various nations, the English did little more than creep along their own coasts, in small barks, which conveyed the productions of one country to another. Their commerce was almost wholly passive. Their wants were supplied by strangers; and whatever necessary or luxury of life their own country did not yield, was imported in foreign bottoms. The cross of St. George was seldom displayed beyond the precincts of the narrow seas. Hardly any English ship traded with Spain or Portugal before the beginning of the fifteenth century; and half a century more elapsed before the English mariners became so adventurous as to enter the Mediterranean.

Expedition from Bristol, under the command of Cabot.

In this infancy of navigation, Henry could not commit the conduct of an armament, destined to explore unknown regions, to his own subjects. He invested Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian adventurer, who had settled in Bristol, with the chief command; and issued a commission to him and his three sons, em-

BOOK IX. powering them to sail, under the banner of England, towards the east, north, or west, in order to discover countries unoccupied by any Christian state; to take possession of them in his name, and to carry on an exclusive trade with the inhabitants, under condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. This commission was granted on March 5th, 1495, in less than two years after the return of Columbus from America.[a] But Cabot (for that is the name he assumed in England, and by which he is best known) did not set out on his voyage for two years. He, together with his second son Sebastian, embarked at Bristol, on board a ship furnished by the King, and was accompanied by four small barks, fitted out by the merchants of that city.

1497. May.

Cabot discovers Newfoundland, and sails along the coast of Virginia.

As in that age the most eminent navigators, formed by the instructions of Columbus, or animated by his example, were guided by ideas derived from his superior knowledge and experience, Cabot had adopted the system of that great man, concerning the probability of opening a new and shorter passage to the East-Indies, by holding a western course. The opinions which Columbus had formed with respect to the islands

[a] Hackluyt, iii. 4.

which he had discovered, was universally received. They were supposed to lie contiguous to the great continent of India, and to constitute a part of the vast countries comprehended under that general name. Cabot accordingly deemed it probable, that, by steering to the north-west, he might reach India by a shorter course than that which Columbus had taken, and hoped to fall in with the coast of Cathay, or China, of whose fertility and opulence the descriptions of Marco Polo had excited high ideas. After sailing for some weeks due west, and nearly on the parallel of the port from which he took his departure, he discovered a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, and his sailors *Newfoundland;* and in a few days he descried a smaller isle, to which he gave the name of St. John. He landed on June 24. both these, made some observations on their soil and productions, and brought off three of the natives. Continuing his course westward, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, from the coast of Labrador, to that of Virginia. As his chief object was to discover some inlet that might open a passage to the west, it does not appear that he landed anywhere during this extensive run; and he returned to England without attempting either

BOOK IX. settlement or conquest in any part of that continent.[b]

Henry does not profit by Cabot's discovery;

If it had been Henry's purpose to prosecute the object of the commission given by him to Cabot, and to take possession of the countries which he had discovered, the success of this voyage must have answered his most sanguine expectations. His subjects were undoubtedly the first Europeans who had visited that part of the American continent, and were entitled to whatever right of property prior discovery is supposed to confer. Countries which stretched in an uninterrupted course through such a large portion of the temperate zone, opened a prospect of settling to advantage under mild climates, and in a fertile soil. But by the time that Cabot returned to England, he found both the state of affairs and the King's inclination unfavourable to any scheme, the execution of which would have required tranquillity and leisure. Henry was involved in a war with Scotland, and his kingdom was not yet fully composed after the commotion excited by a formidable insurrection of his own subjects in the west. An ambassador from Ferdinand of Arragon was then in London; and as Henry set a high value

[b] Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collect. iii. 211.

upon the friendship of that monarch, for whose character he professed much admiration, perhaps from its similarity to his own, and was endeavouring to strengthen their union by negotiating the marriage which afterwards took place between his eldest son and the Princess Catharine, he was cautious of giving any offence to a prince jealous to excess of all his rights. From the position of the islands and continent which Cabot had discovered, it was evident that they lay within the limits of the ample donative which the bounty of Alexander VI. had conferred upon Ferdinand and Isabella. No person, in that age, questioned the validity of a papal grant; and Ferdinand was not of a temper to relinquish any claim to which he had a shadow of title. Submission to the authority of the Pope, and deference for an ally whom he courted, seem to have concurred with Henry's own situation, in determining him to abandon a scheme, in which he had engaged with some degree of ardour and expectation. No attempt towards discovery was made in England during the remainder of his reign; and Sebastian Cabot, finding no encouragement for his active talents there, entered into the service of Spain.[c]

[c] Some schemes of discovery seem to have been formed in England towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.

BOOK IX.

nor his immediate successors.

THIS is the most probable account of the sudden cessation of Henry's activity, after such success in his first essay as might have encouraged him to persevere. The advantages of commerce, as well as its nature, were so little understood in England about this period, that by an act of parliament in the year 1488, the taking of interest for the use of money was prohibited under severe penalties.[b] And by another law, the profit arising from dealing in bills of exchange was condemned as savouring of usury.[c] It is not surprising then, that no great effort should be made to extend trade, by a nation whose commercial ideas were still so crude and illiberal. But it is more difficult to discover what prevented this scheme of Henry VII. from being resumed during the reigns of his son and grandson; and to give any reason why no attempt was made, either to explore the northern continent of America

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But as there is no other memorial of them, than what remains in a patent granted by the King to the adventurers, it is probable that they were feeble or abortive projects. If any attempt had been made in consequence of this patent, it would not have escaped the knowledge of a compiler so industrious and inquisitive as Hakluyt. In his patent, Henry restricts the adventurers from encroaching on the countries discovered by the Kings of Portugal, or any other Prince in confederacy with England. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 37.

[b] 3 Hen. VII. c. 5. [c] 3 Hen. VII. c. 6.

more fully, or to settle in it. Henry VIII. was frequently at open enmity with Spain: the value of the Spanish acquisitions in America had become so well known, as might have excited his desire to obtain some footing in those opulent regions; and during a considerable part of his reign, the prohibitions in a papal bull would not have restrained him from making encroachment upon the Spanish dominions. But the reign of Henry was not favourable to the progress of discovery. During one period of it, the active part which he took in the affairs of the continent, and the vigour with which he engaged in the contest between the two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I., gave full occupation to the enterprising spirit both of the King and his nobility. During another period of his administration, his famous controversy with the court of Rome kept the nation in perpetual agitation and suspense. Engrossed by those objects neither the King nor the nobles had inclination or leisure to turn their attention to new pursuits; and without their patronage and aid, the commercial part of the nation was too inconsiderable to make any effort of consequence. Though England, by its total separation from the church of Rome, soon after the accession of Edward VI. disclaimed that authority

BOOK IX.

which, by its presumptious partition of the globe between two favourite nations, circumscribed the activity of every other state within very narrow limits, yet a feeble minority, distracted with faction, was not a juncture for forming schemes of doubtful success, and remote utility. The bigotry of Mary, and her marriage with Philip, disposed her to pay a sacred regard to that grant of the Holy See, which vested in a husband, on whom she doated, an exclusive right to every part of the New World. Thus, through a singular succession of various causes, sixty-one years elapsed from the time that the English discovered North America, during which their monarchs gave little attention to that country which was destined to be annexed to their crown, and to be a chief source of its opulence and power.

Expedition to South America, under the command of Sebastian Cabot.

But though the public contributed little towards the progress of discovery, naval skill, knowledge of commerce, and a spirit of enterprize, began to spread among the English. During the reign of Henry VIII. several new channels of trade were opened, and private adventurers visited remote countries, with which England had formerly no intercourse. Some merchants of Bristol, having fitted out two ships for the southern regions of America, committed

the conduct of them to Sebastian Cabot, who had quitted the service of Spain. He visited the coasts of Brasil, and touched at the islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico; and though this voyage seems not to have been beneficial to the adventurers, it extended the sphere of English navigation, and added to the national stock of nautical science.[f] Though disappointed in their expectations of profit in this first essay, the merchants were not discouraged. They sent, successively, several vessels from different ports towards the same quarter, and seem to have carried on an interloping trade in the Portuguese settlements with success.[g] Nor was it only towards the West, that the activity of the English was directed. Other merchants began to extend their commercial views to the East; and by establishing an intercourse with several islands in the Archipelago, and with some of the towns on the coast of Syria, they found a new market for woollen cloths, (the only manufacture which the nation had begun to cultivate,) and supplied their countrymen with various productions of the East, formerly unknown, or received from the Venetians at an exorbitant price.[h]

BOOK IX. 1516.

[f] Hakluyt, iii. 498.
[g] Ibid. iii. 700.
[h] Hakluyt, ii. 96, &c.

BOOK IX.

Unsuccessful attempts to discover a north-west passage to the Indies.

But the discovery of a shorter passage to East-Indies, by the north-west, was still the favourite project of the nation, which beheld with envy the vast wealth that flowed into Portugal, from its commerce with those regions. The scheme was accordingly twice resumed under the long administration of Henry VIII.; first, with some slender aid from the King, and then by private merchants. Both voyages were disastrous and unsuccessful. In the former, one of the ships was lost. In the latter, the stock of provisions was so ill-proportioned to the number of the crew, that although they were but six months at sea, many perished with hunger, and the survivors were constrained to support life by feeding on the bodies of their dead companions.[i]

1527 and 1536.

Sir Hugh Willoughby fails in search of a north-east passage.

The vigour of a commercial spirit did not relax in the reign of Edward VI. The great fishery on the banks of Newfoundland became an object of attention; and from some regulations for the encouragement of that branch of trade, it seems to have been prosecuted with activity and success.[k] But the prospect of opening a communication with China and the Spice Islands, by some other route than round

[i] Hakluyt, 1. 213, &c. iii. 129, 130.
[k] Ibid. iii. 131.

the Cape of Good Hope, still continued to allure the English, more than any scheme of adventure. Cabot, whose opinion was deservedly of high authority in whatever related to naval enterprise, warmly urged the English to make another attempt to discover this passage. As it had been thrice searched for in vain, by steering towards the north-west, he proposed that a trial should now be made by the north-east; and supported this advice by such plausible reasons and conjectures, as excited sanguine expectations of success. Several noblemen and persons of rank, together with some principal merchants, having associated for this purpose, were incorporated, by a charter from the King, under the title of The Company of Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown. Cabot, who was appointed governor of this company, soon fitted out two ships and a bark, furnished with instructions in his own hand, which discover the great extent both of his naval skill and mercantile sagacity. BOOK IX. 1553.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was intrusted with the command, stood directly northwards along the coast of Norway, and doubled the North Cape. But in that tempestuous ocean, his small squadron was separated in a violent May 10.

BOOK IX.

storm. Willoughby's ship and the bark took refuge in an obscure harbour in a desert part of Russian Lapland, where he and all his companions were frozen to death. Richard Chancelour, the captain of the other vessel, was more fortunate; he entered the White Sea, and wintered in safety at Archangel. Though no vessel of any foreign nation had ever visited that quarter of the globe before, the inhabitants received their new visitors with an hospitality which would have done honour to a more polished people. The English learned there, that this was a province of a vast empire, subject to the Great Duke or Czar of Muscovy, who resided in a great city twelve hundred miles from Archangel. Chancelour, with a spirit becoming an officer employed in an expedition for discovery, did not hesitate a moment about the part which he ought to take, and set out for that distant capital. On his arrival in Moscow, he was admitted to audience, and delivered a letter which the Captain of each ship had received from Edward VI. for the sovereign of whatever country they should discover, to John Vasilowitz, who at that time filled the Russian throne. John, though he ruled over his subjects with the cruelty and caprice of a barbarous despot, was not destitute of political sagacity. He instantly perceived the happy

Willoughby perishes.

One of his ships winters at Archangel.

The captain visits Moscow.

consequences that might flow from opening an intercourse between his dominions and the western nations of Europe; and, delighted with the fortunate event to which he was indebted for this unexpected benefit, he treated Chancelour with great respect; and, by a letter to the King of England, invited his subjects to trade in the Russian dominions, with ample promises of protection and favour.[1] BOOK IX. Feb. 1554.

Chancelour, on his return, found Mary seated on the English throne. The success of this voyage, the discovery of a new course of navigation, the establishment of commerce with a vast empire, the name of which was then hardly known in the West, and the hope of arriving, in this direction, at those regions which had been so long the object of desire, excited a wonderful ardour to prosecute the design with greater vigour. Mary, implicitly guided by her husband in every act of administration, was not unwilling to turn the commercial activity of her subjects towards a quarter where it could not excite the jealousy of Spain, by encroaching on its possessions in the New World. She wrote to John Vasilowitz in the most respectful terms, courting his friendship. She confirmed the charter of Trade opened with Russia.

[1] Hakluyt, i. 226, &c.

BOOK IX. Edward VI., empowered Chancelour, and two agents appointed by the company, to negociate with the Czar in her name; and according to the spirit of that age, she granted an exclusive right of trade with Russia to the Corporation of Merchant Adventurers.[m] In virtue of this, they not only established an active and gainful commerce with Russia, but, in hopes of reaching China, they pushed their discoveries eastwards to the coast of Nova Zembla, the Straits of Waigatz, and towards the mouth of the great river Oby. But in those frozen seas, which Nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to innumerable disasters, and met with successive disappointments.

Communication with India by land.

Nor were their attempts to open a communication with India made only in this channel. They appointed some of their factors to accompany the Russian caravans which travelled into Persia by the way of Astracan and the Caspian Sea, instructing them to penetrate as far as possible towards the east, and to endeavour, not only to establish a trade with those countries, but to acquire every information that might afford any light towards the discovery of a passage to China by the north-east.[n]

[m] Hakluyt, i. 258, &c. [n] Hakluyt, i. 301.

Notwithstanding a variety of dangers to which they were exposed in travelling through so many provinces, inhabited by fierce and licentious nations, some of these factors reached Bokara, in the province of Chorassan; and though prevented from advancing farther by the civil wars which desolated the country, they returned to Europe with some hopes of extending the commerce of the Company into Persia, and with much intelligence concerning the state of those remote regions of the east.[o]

Expedition to the coast of Africa.

THE successful progress of the Merchant Adventurers in discovery roused the emulation of their countrymen, and turned their activity into new channels. A commercial intercourse, hitherto unattempted by the English, having been opened with the coast of Barbary, the specimens which that afforded of the valuable productions of Africa invited some enterprising navigators to visit the more remote provinces of that quarter of the globe. They sailed along its western shore, traded in different ports on both sides of the Line, and after acquiring considerable knowledge of those countries, returned with a cargo of gold-dust, ivory, and other rich commodities,

[o] Hakluyt, i. 310, &c.

BOOK IX.

little known at that time in England. This commerce with Africa seems to have been pursued with vigour, and was at that time no less innocent than lucrative; for as the English had then no demand for slaves, they carried it on for many years, without violating the rights of humanity. Thus far did the English advance during a period which may be considered as the infant state of their navigation and commerce; and feeble as its steps at that time may appear to us, we trace them with an interesting curiosity, and look back with satisfaction to the early essays of that spirit which we now behold in the full maturity of its strength. Even in those first efforts of the English, an intelligent observer will discern presages of their future improvement. As soon as the activity of the nation was put in motion, it took various directions, and exerted itself in each with that steady, persevering industry, which is the soul and guide of commerce. Neither discouraged by the hardships and dangers to which they were exposed in those northern seas which they first attempted to explore, nor afraid of venturing into the sultry climates of the torrid zone, the English, during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, opened some of the most considerable sources of their

commercial opulence, and gave a beginning to their trade with Turkey, with Africa, with Russia, and with Newfoundland.

Reign of Elizabeth auspicious to discovery.

By the progress which England had already made in navigation and commerce, it was now prepared for advancing farther; and on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, a period commenced extremely auspicious to this spirit which was rising in the nation. The domestic tranquillity of the kingdom, maintained, almost without interruption, during the course of a long and prosperous reign; the peace with foreign nations, that subsisted more than twenty years after Elizabeth was seated on the throne; the Queen's attentive economy, which exempted her subjects from the burden of taxes oppressive to trade; the popularity of her administration; were all favourable to commercial enterprise, and called it forth into vigorous exertion. The discerning eye of Elizabeth having early perceived that the security of a kingdom, environed by the sea, depended on its naval force, she began her government with adding to the number and strength of the royal navy; which, during a factious minority, and a reign intent on no object but that of suppressing heresy, had been neglected, and suffered to decay. She

BOOK IX. filled her arsenals with naval stores; she built several ships of great force, according to the ideas of that age, and encouraged her subjects to imitate her example, that they might no longer depend on foreigners from whom the English had hitherto purchased all vessels of any considerable burden.[p] By those efforts the skill of the English artificers was improved, the number of sailors increased, and the attention of the public turned to the navy, as the most important national object. Instead of abandoning any of the new channels of commerce which had been opened in the three preceding reigns, the English frequented them with greater assiduity, and the patronage of their sovereign added vigour to all their efforts. In order to secure to them the continuance of their exclusive trade with Russia, Elizabeth cultivated the connection with John Vasilowitz, which had been formed by her predecessor, and, by successive embassies, gained his confidence so thoroughly, that the English enjoyed that lucrative privilege during his long reign. She encouraged the Company of Merchant Adventurers, whose monopoly of the Russian trade was confirmed by act of parliament[q], to resume their design of pene-

[p] Camd. Annales, p. 70. edit. 1615; fol.

[q] Hackluyt, i. 369.

trating into Persia by land. Their second attempt, conducted with greater prudence, or undertaken at a more favourable juncture than the first, was more successful. Their agents arrived in the Persian court, and obtained such protection and immunities from the Shah, that for a course of years they carried on a gainful commerce in his kingdom[r]; and by frequenting the various provinces of Persia, became so well acquainted with the vast riches of the East, as strengthened their design of opening a more direct intercourse with those fertile regions by sea. 1562.

Frobisher makes three attempts to discover the north-west passage.

But as every effort to accomplish this by the north-east had proved abortive, a scheme was formed, under the patronage of the Earl of Warwick, the head of the enterprising family of Dudley, to make a new attempt, by holding an opposite course by the north-west. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to Martin Frobisher, an officer of experience and reputation. In three successive voyages he explored the inhospitable coast of Labrador, and that of Greenland (to which Elizabeth gave the name of *Meta Incognita*), without discoverable any probable appearance of that passage to India for which he sought. This new dis- 1576. 1577. and 1578.

[r] Hackluyt, i. 344, &c.

BOOK IX.

Sir Francis Drake sails round the world.

appointment was sensibly felt, and might have damped the spirit of naval enterprise among the English, if it had not resumed fresh vigour, amidst the general exultation of the nation, upon the successful expedition of Francis Drake. That bold navigator, emulous of the glory which Magellan had acquired by sailing round the globe, formed a scheme of attempting a voyage, which all Europe had admired for sixty years, without venturing to follow the Portuguese Discoverer in his adventurous course. Drake undertook this with a feeble squadron, in which the largest vessel did not exceed a hundred tons, and he accomplished it with no less credit to himself, than honour to his country. Even in this voyage, conducted with other views, Drake seems not to have been inattentive to the favourite object of his countrymen, the discovery of a new route to India. Before he quitted the Pacific Ocean, in order to stretch towards the Philippine islands, he ranged along the coast of California, as high as the latitude of forty-two degrees north, in hopes of discovering, on that side, the communication between the two seas, which had so often been searched for in vain on the other. But this was the only unsuccessful attempt of Drake. The excessive cold of the climate, intolerable to men who had long been

accustomed to tropical heat, obliged him to stop short in his progress towards the north; and whether or not there be any passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean in that quarter is a point still unascertained.[s] BOOK IX.

Enthusiasm of discover.

FROM this period, the English seem to have confided in their own abilities and courage, as equal to any naval enterprise. They had now visited every region to which navigation extended in that age, and had rivalled the nation of highest repute for naval skill in its most splendid exploit. But notwithstanding the knowledge which they had acquired of the different quarters of the globe, they had not hitherto attempted any settlement out of their own country. Their merchants had not yet acquired such a degree, either of wealth or of political influence, as were requisite towards carrying a scheme of colonisation into execution. Persons of noble birth were destitute of the ideas and information which might have disposed them to patronise such a design. The growing power of Spain, however, and the ascendant over the other nations of Europe to which it had attained under Charles V. and his son, naturally turned the attention of mankind towards the importance of those settlements in the New World, to which they were so

[s] Hakluyt, iii. 440. [t] Camd. Annal. 301, &c.

BOOK IX.

much indebted for that pre-eminence. The intercourse between Spain and England, during the reign of Philip and Mary; the resort of the Spanish nobility to the English court, while Philip resided there; the study of the Spanish language, which became fashionable; and the translation of several histories of America into English, diffused gradually through the nation a more distinct knowledge of the policy of Spain in planting its colonies, and of the advantages which it derived from them. When hostilities commenced between Elizabeth and Philip, the prospect of annoying Spain by sea opened a new career to the enterprising spirit of the English nobility. Almost every eminent leader of the age aimed at distinguishing himself by naval exploits. That service, and the ideas connected with it, the discovery of unknown countries, the establishment of distant colonies, and the enriching of commerce by new commodities, became familiar to persons of rank.

First project of a colony in North America.

In consequence of all those concurring causes, the English began seriously to form plans of settling colonies in those parts of America which hitherto they had only visited. The projectors and patrons of these plans were mostly persons of rank and influence. Among them, Sir Humphry Gilbert, of Compton in Devon-

shire, ought to be mentioned with the distinction due to the conductor of the first English colony to America. He had early rendered himself conspicuous by his military services both in France and Ireland; and having afterwards turned his attention to naval affairs, he published a discourse concerning the probability of a north-west passage, which discovered no inconsiderable portion both of learning and ingenuity, mingled with the enthusiasm, the credulity, and sanguine expectations which incite men to new and hazardous undertakings.[t] With those talents he was deemed a proper person to be employed in establishing a new colony, and easily obtained from the Queen letters patent, vesting in him sufficient powers for this purpose.

June 11, 1578.

Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth.

As this is the first charter to a colony, granted by the crown of England, the articles in it merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age, with respect to the nature of such settlements. Elizabeth authorises him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. She vests in him, his heirs and assigns for ever, the full right of property in the soil of those countries whereof he shall take possession. She permits

[t] Hakluyt, iii. 11.

BOOK IX.

such of her subjects as were willing to accompany Gilbert in his voyage, to go and settle in the countries which he shall plant. She empowers him, his heirs and assigns, to dispose of whatever portion of those lands he shall judge meet to persons settled there, in fee simple, according to the laws of England. She ordains, that all the lands granted to Gilbert shall hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore found there. She confers upon him, his heirs and assigns, the complete jurisdictions and royalties, as well marine as other, within the said lands and seas thereunto adjoining; and as their common safety and interest would render good government necessary in their new settlements, she gave Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, full power to convict, punish, pardon, govern and rule, by their good discretion and policy, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all persons who shall, from time to time, settle within the said countries, according to such statutes, laws, and ordinances, as shall be by him, his heirs and assigns, devised and established for their better government. She declared, that all who settled there should have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage

to the contrary notwithstanding. And finally, she prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his associates, shall have occupied, during the space of six years.[u]

First expedition fails.

With those extraordinary powers, suited to the high notions of authority and prerogative prevalent in England during the sixteenth century, but very repugnant to more recent ideas with respect to the rights of free men, who voluntarily unite to form a colony, Gilbert began to collect associates, and to prepare for embarkation. His own character, and the zealous efforts of his half-brother Walter Ralegh, who, even in his early youth, displayed those splendid talents, and that undaunted spirit, which create admiration and confidence, soon procured him a sufficient number of followers. But his success was not suited either to the sanguine hopes of his countrymen, or to the expense of his preparations. Two expeditions, both of which he conducted in person, ended disastrously. In the last he himself perished, without having effected his intended settlement on the continent of America, or performing any thing

1580.

[u] Hakluyt, iii. 135.

BOOK IX.

more worthy of notice, than the empty formality of taking possession of the island of Newfoundland, in the name of his sovereign. The dissensions among his officers; the licentious and ungovernable spirit of some of his crew; his total ignorance of the countries which he purposed to occupy; his misfortune in approaching the continent too far towards the north, where the inhospitable coast of Cape Breton did not invite them to settle; the shipwreck of his largest vessel; and, above all, the scanty provision which the funds of a private man could make of what was requisite for establishing a new colony, were the true causes to which the failure of the enterprise must be imputed, not to any deficiency of abilities or resolution in its leader.[w]

The plan resumed by Ralegh.

But the miscarriage of a scheme, in which Gilbert had wasted his fortune, did not discourage Ralegh. He adopted all his brother's ideas; and applying to the Queen, in whose favour he stood high at that time, he procured a patent, with jurisdiction and prerogatives as ample as had been granted unto Gilbert.[x] Ralegh, no less eager to execute than to undertake the scheme, instantly dispatched two small

1584. March 26.

April 27.

[w] Hackluyt, iii. 143, &c. [x] Ibid. 243.

vessels, under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two officers of trust, to visit the countries which he intended to settle, and to acquire some previous knowledge of their coasts, their soil, and productions. In order to avoid Gilbert's error, in holding too far north, they took their course by the Canaries and the West India islands, and approached the North American continent by the Gulf of Florida. Unfortunately, their chief researches were made in that part of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, the province in America most destitute of commodious harbours. They touched first at an island, which they call Wokocon (probably Ocakoke), situated on the inlet into Pamplicoe Sound, and then at Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. In both they had some intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be savages, with all the characteristic qualities of uncivilised life, bravery, aversion to labour, hospitality, a propensity to admire, and a willingness to exchange their rude productions for English commodities, especially for iron, or any of the useful metals of which they were destitute. After spending a few weeks in this traffic, and in visiting some parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England with two of the natives, and gave such splendid descriptions of the

Discovery of Virginia.

Sept. 15.

BOOK IX.

beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, that Elizabeth, delighted with the idea of occupying a territory superior, so far, to the barren regions, towards the north hitherto visited by her subjects, bestowed on it the name of Virginia; as a memorial that this happy discovery had been made under a virgin queen.[y]

Colony established in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenville.

THEIR report encouraged Ralegh to hasten his preparations for taking possession of such an inviting property. He fitted out a squadron of seven small ships, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville, a man of honourable birth, and of courage so undaunted as to be conspicuous even in that gallant age. But the spirit of that predatory war which the English carried on against Spain, mingled with this scheme of settlement; and on this account, as well as from unacquaintance with a more direct and shorter course to North America, Greenville sailed by the West-India islands. He spent some time in cruising among these, and in taking prizes; so that it was towards the close of June before he arrived on the coast of North America. He touched at both the islands where Amadas and Barlow had landed, and made some excursions into

[y] Hakluyt, iii. 246.

different parts of the continent round Pamplicoe and Albemarle Sounds. But as, unfortunately, he did not advance far enough towards the north, to discover the noble bay of Chesapeak, he established the colony which he left on the island of Roanoke, an incommodious station, without any safe harbour, and almost uninhabited.[z] BOOK IX. Aug. 25.

THIS colony consisted only of one hundred and eighty persons, under the command of Captain Lane, assisted by some men of note, the most distinguished of whom was Hariot, an eminent mathematician. Their chief employment, during a residence of nine months, was to obtain a more extensive knowledge of the country; and their researches were carried on with greater spirit, and reached farther than could have been expected from a colony so feeble, and in a station so disadvantageous. But from the same impatience of indigent adventurers to acquire sudden wealth, which gave a wrong direction to the industry of the Spaniards in their settlements, the greater part of the English seem to have considered nothing as worthy of attention but mines of gold and silver. These they sought for, wherever they came: these they inquired after In danger of perishing by famine; returns to England.

[z] Hakluyt, iii. 251.

BOOK IX.

with unwearied eagerness. The savages soon discovered the favourite objects which allured them, and artfully amused them with so many tales concerning pearl fisheries, and rich mines of various metals, that Lane and his companions wasted their time and activity in the chimerical pursuit of these, instead of labouring to raise provisions for their own subsistence. On discovering the deceit of the Indians, they were so much exasperated, that from expostulations and reproaches, they proceeded to open
1586. hostility. The supplies of provision which they had been accustomed to receive from the natives were of course withdrawn. Through their own negligence, no other precaution had been taken for their support. Ralegh, having engaged in a scheme too expensive for his narrow funds, had not been able to send them that recruit of stores with which Greenville had promised to furnish them early in the spring. The colony, reduced to the utmost distress, and on the point of perishing with famine, was preparing to disperse into different districts of the country in quest of food, when
June 1. Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies. A scheme which he formed, of furnishing Lane and his associates with such supplies as might enable them to remain with comfort in their station,

was disappointed by a sudden storm, in which a small vessel that he destined for their service was dashed to pieces; and as he could not supply them with another, at their joint request, as they were worn out with fatigue and famine, he carried them home to England.[a] June 19.

Such was the inauspicious beginning of the English settlements in the New World; and, after exciting high expectations, this first attempt produced no effect but that of affording a more complete knowledge of the country; as it enabled Hariot, a man of science and observation, to describe its soil, climate, productions, and the manners of its inhabitants, with a degree of accuracy which merits no inconsiderable praise, when compared with the childish and marvellous tales published by several of the early visitants of the New World. There is another consequence of this abortive colony important enough to entitle it to a place in history. Lane and his associates, by their constant intercourse with the Indians, had acquired a relish for their favourite enjoyment of smoking tobacco; to the use of which, the credulity of that people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues, but their superstiKnowledge of the country acquired in this expedition.

Use of tobacco introduced in England.

[a] Hakluyt, ii. 255. Camd. Annal. 387.

BOOK IX.

tion considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven.[b] They brought with them a specimen of this new commodity to England, and taught their countrymen the method of using it; which Ralegh, and some young men of fashion, fondly adopted. From imitation of them, from love of novelty, and from the favourable opinion of its salutary qualities entertained by several physicians, the practice spread among the English. The Spaniards and Portuguese had, previous to this, introduced it in other parts of Europe. This habit of taking tobacco gradually extended from the extremities of the north to those of the south, and in one form or other seems to be equally grateful to the inhabitants of every climate; and by a singular caprice of the human species, no less inexplicable than unexampled, (so bewitching is the acquired taste for a weed of no manifest utility, and at first not only unpleasant, but nauseous,) that it has become almost as universal as the demands of those appetites originally implanted in our nature. Smoking was the first mode of taking tobacco in England; and we learn from the comic

[b] Hariot ap. Hakluyt, iii. 271. De Bry. America, Pars i.

writers towards the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, that this was deemed one of the accomplishments of a man of fashion and spirit. BOOK IX.

A FEW days after Drake departed from Roanoke, a small bark, dispatched by Ralegh with a supply of stores for the colony, landed at the place where the English had settled; but on finding it deserted by their countrymen, they returned to England. The bark was hardly gone, when Sir Richard Greenville appeared with three ships. After searching in vain for the colony which he had planted, without being able to learn what had befallen it, he left fifteen of his crew to keep possession of the island. This handful of men was soon overpowered and cut in pieces by the savages.[c]

Ralegh's second attempt to settle a colony in Virginia.

THOUGH all Ralegh's efforts to establish a colony in Virginia had hitherto proved abortive, and had been defeated by a succession of disasters and disappointments, neither his hopes nor resources were exhausted. Early in the following year, he fitted out three ships, under the command of Captain John White, who carried thither a colony more numerous 1587.

[c] Hakluyt, iii. 265. 283.

BOOK IX.

than that which had been settled under Lane. On their arrival in Virginia, after viewing the face of the country covered with one continued forest, which to them appeared an uninhabited wild, as it was occupied only by a few scattered tribes of savages, they discovered that they were destitute of many things which they deemed essentially necessary towards their subsistence in such an uncomfortable situation; and, with one voice, requested White, their commander, to return to England, as the person among them most likely to solicit, with efficacy, the supply on which depended the existence of the colony. White landed in his native country at a most unfavourable season for the negotiation which he had undertaken. He found the nation in universal alarm at the formidable preparations of Philip II. to invade England, and collecting all its force to oppose the fleet to which he had arrogantly given the name of the Invincible Armada. Ralegh, Greenville, and all the most zealous patrons of the new settlement, were called to act a

1588. distinguished part in the operations of a year equally interesting and glorious to England. Amidst danger so imminent, and during a contest for the honour of their sovereign and the independence of their country, it was impossible to attend to a less important and remote object. The unfortunate colony in

Colony perishes by famine.

Roanoke received no supply, and perished miserably by famine, or by the unrelenting cruelty of those barbarians by whom they were surrounded.

Ralegh abandons the design of settling a colony in Virginia.

DURING the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, the scheme of establishing a colony in Virginia was not resumed. Ralegh, with a most aspiring mind and extraordinary talents, enlightened by knowledge no less uncommon, had the spirit and the defects of a projector. Allured by new objects, and always giving the preference to such as were most splendid and arduous, he was apt to engage in undertakings so vast and so various, as to be far beyond his power of accomplishing. He was now intent on peopling and improving a large district of country in Ireland, of which he had obtained a grant from the Queen. He was a deep adventurer in the scheme of fitting out a powerful armament against Spain, in order to establish Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. He had begun to form his favourite but visionary plan, of penetrating into the province of Guiana, where he fondly dreamed of taking possession of inexhaustible wealth, flowing from the richest mines in the New World. Amidst this multiplicity of projects, of such promising appearance, and recommended by novelty, he naturally became cold towards his

BOOK IX.

ancient and hitherto unprofitable scheme of settling a colony in Virginia, and was easily induced to assign his right of property in that country, which he had never visited, together with all the privileges contained in his patent, to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London. This company, satisfied with a paltry traffic carried on by a few small barks, made no attempt to take possession of the country. Thus, after a period of a hundred and six years from the time that Cabot discovered North America, in the name of Henry VII., and of twenty years from the time that Ralegh planted the first colony, there was not a single Englishman settled there at the demise of Queen Elizabeth, in the year one thousand six hundred and three.

March 1596.

Circumstances in Elizabeth's reign unfavourable to colonisation.

I HAVE already explained the causes of this, during the period previous to the accession of Elizabeth. Other causes produced the same effect under her administration. Though for one half of her reign England was engaged in no foreign war, and commerce enjoyed that perfect security which is friendly to its progress; though the glory of her later years give the highest tone of elevation and vigour to the national spirit; the Queen herself, from her extreme parsimony, and her aversion to demand extraordinary supplies of her subjects, was more

apt to restrain than to second the ardent genius of her people. Several of the most splendid enterprises in her reign were concerted and executed by private adventurers. All the schemes for colonisation were carried on by the funds of individuals, without any public aid. Even the felicity of her government was adverse to the establishment of remote colonies. So powerful is the attraction of our native soil, and such our fortunate partiality to the laws and manners of our own country, that men seldom choose to abandon it, unless they be driven away by oppression or allured by vast prospects of sudden wealth. But the provinces of America, in which the English attempted to settle, did not, like those occupied by Spain, invite them thither by any appearance of silver or golden mines. All their hopes of gain were distant; and they saw that nothing could be earned but by persevering exertions of industry. The maxims of Elizabeth's administration were, in their general tenor, so popular, as did not force her subjects to emigrate, in order to escape from the heavy or vexatious hand of power. It seems to have been with difficulty that these slender bands of planters were collected, on which the writers of that age bestow the name of the first and second Virginian colonies. The fulness of time for English colonisation was not yet arrived.

BOOK IX.

1603. Reign of James favourable to the establishment of colonies.

BUT the succession of the Scottish line to the crown of England hastened its approach. James was hardly seated on the throne before he discovered his pacific intentions, and he soon terminated the long war which had been carried on between Spain and England, by an amicable treaty. From that period, uninterrupted tranquillity continued during his reign. Many persons of high rank, and of ardent ambition, to whom the war with Spain had afforded constant employment, and presented alluring prospects, not only of fame but of wealth, soon became so impatient of languishing at home without occupation or object, that their invention was on the stretch to find some exercise for their activity and talents. To both these North America seemed to open a new field, and schemes of carrying colonies thither became more general and more popular.

Direct course from England to North America. first attempted by Gosnold.

A VOYAGE, undertaken by Bartholomew Gosnold in the last year of the Queen, facilitated, as well as encouraged, the execution of these schemes. He sailed from Falmouth in a small bark, with thirty-two men. Instead of following former navigators in their unnecessary circuit by the West-India isles and the Gulf of Florida, Gosnold steered due west as nearly as the winds would permit, and was the

first English commander who reached America by this shorter and more direct course. That part of the continent which he first descried was a promontory in the province now called Massachusets Bay, to which he gave the name of Cape Cod. Holding along the coast, as it stretched towards the south-west, he touched at two islands, one of which he called Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island; and visited the adjoining continent, and traded with its inhabitants. He and his companions were so much delighted everywhere with the inviting aspect of the country, that notwithstanding the smallness of their number, a part of them consented to remain there. But when they had leisure to reflect upon the fate of former settlers in America, they retracted a resolution formed in the first warmth of their admiration; and Gosnold returned to England in less than four months from the time of his departure.[d]

Consequences of Gosnold's voyage.

THIS voyage, however inconsiderable it may appear, had important effects. The English now discovered the aspect of the American continent to be extremely inviting far to the north of the place where they had formerly attempted to settle. The coast of a vast coun-

[d] Purchas, iv. p. 1617.

BOOK IX.

try, stretching through the most desirable climates, lay before them. The richness of its virgin soil promised a certain recompense to their industry. In its interior provinces unexpected sources of wealth might open, and unknown objects of commerce might be found. Its distance from England was diminished almost a third part, by the new course which Gosnold had pointed out. Plans for establishing colonies began to be formed in different parts of the kingdom; and before these were ripe for execution, one small vessel was sent out by the merchants of Bristol, another by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, in order to learn whether Gosnold's account of the country was to be considered as a just representation of its state, or as the exaggerated description of a fond discoverer. Both returned with a full confirmation of his veracity and with the addition of so many new circumstances in favour of the country, acquired by a more extensive view of it, as greatly increased the desire of planting it.

Hakluyt improves the commercial and naval skill of that age.

THE most active and efficacious promoter of this was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, to whom England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any man of that age. Formed under a kinsman of the same name, eminent for naval and commercial know-

ledge, he imbibed a similar taste, and applied early to the study of geography and navigation. These favourite sciences engrossed his attention, and to diffuse a relish for them was the great object of his life. In order to excite his countrymen to naval enterprise, by flattering their national vanity, he published, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, his valuable collection of voyages and discoveries made by Englishmen. In order to supply them with what information might be derived from the experience of the most successful foreign navigators, he translated some of the best accounts of the progress of the Spaniards and Portuguese in their voyages both to the East and West Indies, into the English tongue. He was consulted with respect to many of the attempts towards discovery or colonisation during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He corresponded with the officers who conducted them, directed their researches to proper objects, and published the history of their exploits. By the zealous endeavours of a person, equally respected by men of rank and men of business, many of both orders formed an association to establish colonies in America, and petitioned the King for the sanction of his authority to warrant the execution of their plans.

BOOK IX.

James divides the coast of North America into two parts;

JAMES, who prided himself on his profound skill in the science of government, and who had turned his attention to consider the advantages which might be derived from colonies, at a time when he patronised his scheme for planting them in some of the ruder provinces of his ancient kingdom, with a view of introducing industry and civilisation there[c], was now no less fond of directing the active genius of his English subjects towards occupations not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, and listened with a favourable ear to their application. But as the extent as well as value of the American continent began now to be better known, a grant of the whole of such a vast region to any one body of men, however respectable, appeared to him an act of impolitic and profuse liberality. For this reason he divided that portion of North America, which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, into two districts nearly equal; the one called the first or south colony of Virginia, the other, the second or north colony. He authorised Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, mostly resident in London, to settle any part of the former which they should choose, and vested in them

1606. April 10.

[c] Hist. of Scotland, ii. 239.

a right of property to the land extending along the coast fifty miles on each side of the place of their first habitation, and reaching into the interior country a hundred miles. The latter district he allotted, as the place of settlement, to sundry knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts in the west of England, with a similar grant of territory. Neither the monarch who issued this charter, nor his subjects who received it, had any conception that they were proceeding to lay the foundation of mighty and opulent states. What James granted was nothing more than a simple charter of corporation to a trading company, empowering the members of it to have a common seal, and to act as a body politic. But as the object for which they associated was new, the plan established for the administration of their affairs was uncommon. Instead of the power usually granted to corporations, of electing officers and framing bye-laws for the conduct of their own operations, the supreme government of the colonies to be settled was vested in a council resident in England, to be named by the King, according to such laws and ordinances as should be given under his sign manual; and the subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council resident in America, which was likewise to be nominated by the King, and to act

and grants charters to two companies.

Tenor of these charters.

BOOK IX.

conformably to his instructions. To this important clause, which regulated the form of their constitution, was added the concession of several immunities, to encourage persons to settle in the intended colonies. Some of these were the same which had been granted to Gilbert and Ralegh; such as the securing to the emigrants and their descendants all the rights of denizens, in the same manner as if they had remained or had been born in England; and granting them the privilege of holding their lands in America by the freest and least burdensome tenure. Others were more favourable than those granted by Elizabeth. He permitted whatever was necessary for the sustenance or commerce of the new colonies to be exported from England, during the space of seven years, without paying any duty; and, as a farther incitement to industry, he granted them liberty of trade with other nations, and appropriated the duty to be levied on foreign commodities, for twenty-one years, as a fund for the benefit of the colony.[f]

Defects of these charters.

In this singular charter, the contents of which have been little attended to by the

[f] Stith. Hist. of Virginia, p. 35. Append. p. 1. Purchas, v. 1683.

historians of America, some articles are as unfavourable to the rights of the colonists, as others are to the interest of the parent state. By placing the legislative and executive powers in a council nominated by the crown, and guided by its instructions, every person settling in America seems to be bereaved of the noblest privilege of a free man; by the unlimited permission of trade with foreigners, the parent state is deprived of that exclusive commerce which has been deemed the chief advantage resulting from the establishment of colonies. But in the infancy of colonisation, and without the guidance of observation or experience, the ideas of men, with respect to the mode of forming new settlements, were not fully unfolded, or properly arranged. At a period when they could not foresee the future grandeur and importance of the communities which they were about to call into existence, they were ill qualified to concert the best plan for governing them. Besides, the English of that age, accustomed to the high prerogative and arbitrary rule of their monarchs, were not animated with such liberal sentiments, either concerning their own personal or political rights, as have become familiar in the more mature and improved state of their constitution.

BOOK IX.

BOOK IX.

Colonies of Virginia and New England.

WITHOUT hesitation or reluctance the proprietors of both colonies prepared to execute their respective plans; and under the authority of a charter, which would now be rejected with disdain, as a violent invasion of the sacred and inalienable rights of liberty, the first permanent settlements of the English in America were established. From this period, the progress of the two provinces of Virginia and New England, form a regular and connected story. The former in the south, and the latter in the north, may be considered as the original and parent colonies; in imitation of which, and under whose shelter, all the others have been successively planted and reared.

Advantages of tracing the history of these colonies in their infant state.

THE first attempts to occupy Virginia and New England were made by very feeble bodies of emigrants. As these settled under great disadvantages, among tribes of savages, and in an uncultivated desert; as they attained gradually, after long struggles, and many disasters, to that maturity of strength, and order of policy, which entitles them to be considered as respectable states, the history of their persevering efforts, merits particular attention. It will exhibit a spectacle no less striking than instructive, and presents an opportunity, which rarely occurs, of con-

templating a society in the first moment of its political existence, and of observing how its spirit forms in its infant state, how its principles begin to unfold as it advances, and how those characteristic qualities which distinguish its maturer age, are successively acquired. The account of the establishment of the other English colonies, undertaken at periods when the importance of such possessions was better understood, and effected by more direct and vigorous exertions of the parent state, is less interesting. I shall therefore relate the history of the two original colonies in detail. With respect to the subsequent settlements, some more general observations concerning the time, the motives, and circumstances of their establishment will be sufficient. I begin with the history of Virginia, the most ancient and most valuable of the British colonies in North America.

Though many persons of distinction became proprietors in the company which undertook to plant a colony in Virginia, its funds seem not to have been considerable, and its first effort was certainly extremely feeble. A small vessel of a hundred tons, and two barks, under the command of Captain Newport, sailed with a hundred and five men, destined to remain in the country. Some of these were of respectable

Newport sails for Virginia. Dec. 19.

BOOK IX.

families, particularly a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and several officers who had served with reputation in the reign of Elizabeth. Newport, I know not for what reason, followed the ancient course by the West-Indies, and did not reach the coast of North America for four months. But he approached it with better fortune than any former navigator; for having been driven, by the violence of a storm, to the northward of Roanoke, the place of his destination, the first land he discovered was a promontory which he called Cape Henry, the southern boundary of the Bay of Chesapeak. The English stood directly into that spacious inlet, which seemed to invite them to enter; and as they advanced, contemplated, with a mixture of delight and admiration, that grand reservoir, into which are poured the waters of all the vast rivers, which not only diffuse fertility through that district of America, but open the interior parts of the country to navigation, and render a commercial intercourse more extensive and commodious than in any other region of the globe. Newport, keeping along the southern shore, sailed up a river, which the natives called Powhatan, and to which he gave the name of James-River. After viewing its banks, during a run of above forty miles from its mouth, they all concluded that a country, where safe

1607. April 26.

Discovers the Chesapeak.

Sails up James-River.

and convenient harbours seemed to be numerous, would be a more suitable station for a trading colony, than the shoally and dangerous coast to the south, on which their countrymen had formerly settled. Here then they determined to abide; and having chosen a proper spot for their residence, they gave this infant settlement the name of James-Town, which it still retains; and though it has never become either populous or opulent, it can boast of being the most ancient habitation of the English in the New World. But however well chosen the situation might be, the members of the colony were far from availing themselves of its advantages. Violent animosities had broke out among some of their leaders, during their voyage to Virginia. These did not subside on their arrival there. The first deed of the council, which assumed the government in virtue of a commission brought from England under the seal of the company, and opened on the day after they landed, was an act of injustice. Captain Smith, who had been appointed a member of the council, was excluded from his seat at the board, by the mean jealousy of his colleagues, and not only reduced to the condition of a private man, but of one suspected and watched by his superiors. This diminution of his influence, and restraint on his activity, was an essential injury to the colony, which at

Founds James-Town.

Bad administration.

BOOK IX.

that juncture stood in need of the aid of both. For soon after they began to settle, the English were involved in a war with the natives, partly by their own indiscretion, and partly by the suspicion and ferocity of those barbarians. And although the Indians, scattered over the countries adjacent to James-River, were divided into independent tribes, so extremely feeble that hardly one of them could muster above two hundred warriors[g], they teased and annoyed an infant colony by their incessant hostilities. To this was added a calamity still more dreadful; the stock of provisions left for their subsistence, on the departure of their ships for England, was so scanty and of such bad quality, that a scarcity, approaching almost to absolute famine, soon followed. Such poor unwholesome fare brought on diseases, the violence of which was so much increased by the sultry heat of the climate, and the moisture of a country covered with wood, that before the beginning of September, one half of their number died, and most of the survivors were sickly and dejected. In such trying extremities, the comparative powers of every individual are discovered and called forth, and each naturally takes that station, and assumes that ascendant, to which he is entitled by his

Colony annoyed by the Indians.

June 15.

Suffers from scarcity, and the unhealthiness of the climate.

[g] Purchas, vol. iv. 1692. Smith's Travels, p. 23.

talents and force of mind. Every eye was now turned towards Smith, and all willingly devolved on him that authority of which they had formerly deprived him. His undaunted temper, deeply tinctured with the wild romantic spirit characteristic of military adventurers in that age, was peculiarly suited to such a situation. The vigour of his constitution continued fortunately still unimpaired by disease, and his mind was never appalled by danger. He instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. He began by surrounding James-Town with such rude fortifications as were a sufficient defence against the assaults of savages. He then marched, at the head of a small detachment, in quest of their enemies. Some tribes he gained by caresses and presents, and procured from them a supply of provisions. Others he attacked with open force; and defeating them on every occasion, whatever their superiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him some portion of their winter stores. As the recompense of all his toils and dangers, he saw abundance and contentment re-established in the colony, and hoped that he should be able to maintain them in that happy state, until the arrival of ships from England in the spring: but in one of his

Smith called to the command, restores the prosperity of the colony.

BOOK IX.

excursions he was surprised by a numerous body of Indians, and in making his escape from them, after a gallant defence, he sunk to the neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Though he knew well what a dreadful fate awaits the prisoners of savages, his presence of mind did not forsake him. He showed those who had taken him captive a mariner's compass, and amused them with so many wonderful accounts of its virtues, as filled them with astonishment and veneration, which began to operate very powerfully in his favour. They led him, however, in triumph through various parts of the country, and conducted him at last to Powhatan, the most considerable Sachim in that part of Virginia. There the doom of death being pronounced, he was led to the place of execution, and his head already bowed down to receive the fatal blow, when that fond attachment of the American women to their European invaders, the beneficial effects of which the Spaniards often experienced, interposed in his behalf. The favourite daughter of Powhatan rushed in between him and the executioner, and by her entreaties and tears prevailed on her father to spare his life. The beneficence of his deliverer, whom the early English writers dignify with the title of the Princess Pocahuntas, did

He is taken prisoner by the Indians.

not terminate here; she soon after procured his liberty, and sent him from time to time seasonable presents of provisions.[h] BOOK IX.

On his return, he finds the colony almost ruined.

SMITH, on his return to James-Town, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, who, in despair, were preparing to abandon a country which did not seem destined to be the habitation of Englishmen. He employed caresses, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal resolution. With difficulty he prevailed on them to defer it so long, that the succour anxiously expected from England arrived. Plenty was instantly restored; a hundred new planters were added to their number; and an ample stock of whatever was requisite for clearing and sowing the ground was delivered to them. But an unlucky incident turned their attention from that species of industry which alone could render their situation comfortable. In a small stream of water that issued from a bank of sand near James-Town, a sediment of some shining mineral substance, which had some resemblance of gold, was discovered. At a time when the precious metals were conceived to be the peculiar and only valuable productions of the

Seasonable succours from England.

Colonists deceived by the appearances of gold.

[h] Smith's Travels, p. 44, &c. Purchas, iv. 1704. Stith. p. 45, &c.

BOOK IX.

New World, when every mountain was supposed to contain a treasure, and every rivulet was searched for its golden sands, this appearance was fondly considered as an infallible indication of a mine. Every hand was eager to dig; large quantities of this glittering dust were amassed. From some assay of its nature, made by an artist as unskilful as his companions were credulous, it was pronounced to be extremely rich. "There was now," says Smith, "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig "gold, wash gold, refine gold."[1] With this imaginary wealth the first vessel returning to England was loaded, while the culture of the land, and every useful occupation, were totally neglected.

Smith undertakes a survey of the country.

THE effects of this fatal delusion were soon felt. Notwithstanding all the provident activity of Smith, in procuring corn from the natives by traffic or by force, the colony began to suffer as much as formerly from scarcity of food, and was wasted by the same distempers. In hopes of obtaining some relief, Smith proposed, as they had not hitherto extended their researches beyond the countries contiguous to James-River, to open an intercourse with the more remote tribes, and to examine into the

[1] Smith's Travels, p. 53.

state of culture and population among them. The execution of this arduous design he undertook himself, in a small open boat, with a feeble crew, and a very scanty stock of provisions. He began his survey at Cape Charles, and in two different excursions, which continued above four months, he advanced as far as the river Susquehannah, which flows into the bottom of the bay. He visited all the countries both on the east and west shores; he entered most of the considerable creeks; he sailed up many of the great rivers as far as their falls. He traded with some tribes; he fought with others; he observed the nature of the territory which they occupied, their mode of subsistence, the peculiarities in their manners; and left among all a wonderful admiration either of the beneficence or valour of the English. After sailing above three thousand miles in a paltry vessel, ill fitted for such an extensive navigation, during which the hardships to which he was exposed, as well as the patience with which he endured, and the fortitude with which he surmounted them, equal whatever is related of the celebrated Spanish discoverers in their most daring enterprises, he returned to James-Town; he brought with him an account of that large portion of the American continent now comprehended in the two pro-

BOOK IX.

vinces of Virginia and Maryland[k], so full and exact, that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries, and is the original upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed.[l]

But whatever pleasing prospect of future benefit might open upon this complete discovery of a country formed by nature to be the seat of an exclusive commerce, it afforded but little relief for their present wants. The colony still depended for subsistence chiefly on supplies from the natives; as, after all the efforts of their own industry, hardly thirty acres of ground were yet cleared so as to be capable of culture.[m] By Smith's attention, however, the stores of the English were so regularly filled, that for some time they felt no considerable distress; and at this juncture a change was made in the constitution of the company, which seemed to promise an increase of their security and happiness. That supreme direction of all the company's operations, which the King by his charter had reserved to himself, discouraged persons of rank

[k] Smith's Travels, p. 65, &c.
[l] Stith. p. 83.
[m] Stith. p. 97.

or property from becoming members of a society so dependant on the arbitrary will of the crown. Upon a representation of this to James, he granted them a new charter, with more ample privileges. He enlarged the boundaries of the colony; he rendered the powers of the company, as a corporation, more explicit and complete; he abolished the jurisdiction of the council resident in Virginia; he vested the government entirely in a council residing in London; he granted to the proprietors of the company the right of electing the persons who were to compose this council, by a majority of voices; he authorised this council to establish such laws, orders, and forms of government and magistracy, for the colony and plantation, as they in their discretion should think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there; he empowered them to nominate a governor to have the administration of affairs in the colony; and to carry their orders into execution.[n] In consequence of these concessions, the company having acquired the power of regulating all its own transactions, the number of proprietors encreased, and among them we find the most respectable names in the nation.

1609. May 23. A new charter granted.

[n] Stith, Append. 8.

BOOK IX.

Lord Delaware appointed governor.

THE first deed of the new council was to appoint Lord Delaware governor and captain-general of their colony in Virginia. To a person of his rank those high-sounding titles could be no allurement; and by his thorough acquaintance with the progress and state of the settlement, he knew enough of the labour and difficulty with which an infant-colony is reared, to expect any thing but anxiety and care in discharging the duties of that delicate office. But, from zeal to promote an establishment which he expected to prove so highly beneficial to his country, he was willing to relinquish all the comforts of an honourable station, to undertake a long voyage to settle in an uncultivated region destitute of every accommodation to which he had been accustomed, and where he foresaw that toil, and trouble, and danger awaited him. But as he could not immediately leave England, the council dispatched Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers, the former of whom had been appointed lieutenant-general and the latter admiral, with nine ships and five hundred planters. They carried with them commissions, by which they were empowered to supersede the jurisdiction of the former council, to proclaim Lord Delaware governor, and, until he should arrive, to take the administration of affairs into their own hands.

Gates and Summers appointed to command till the arrival of Lord Delaware.

A violent hurricane separated the vessel in which Gates and Summers had embarked from the rest of the fleet, and stranded it on the coast of Bermudas. The other ships arrived safely at James-Town. But the fate of their commanders was unknown. Their commission for new-modelling the government, and all other public papers, were supposed to be lost, together with them. The present form of government, however, was held to be abolished. No legal warrant could be produced for establishing any other. Smith was not in a condition at this juncture to assert his own rights, or to act with his wonted vigour. By an accidental explosion of gunpowder, he had been so miserably scorched and mangled, that he was incapable of moving, and under the necessity of committing himself to the guidance of his friends, who carried him aboard one of the ships returning to England, in hopes that he might recover by more skilful treatment than he could meet with in Virginia.°

Their ship stranded on the coast of Bermudas. Aug. 11.

AFTER his departure, every thing tended fast to the wildest anarchy. Faction and discontent had often risen so high among the old settlers, that they could hardly be kept within bounds.

Anarchy in the colony.

° Purchas, iv. 1734, &c. Smith's Travels, p. 89. Stith, p. 102, &c.

BOOK IX.

The spirit of the new comers was too ungovernable to bear any restraint. Several among them of better rank were such dissipated hopeless young men, as their friends were glad to send out in quest of whatever fortune might betide them in a foreign land. Of the lower order many were so profligate or desperate, that their country was happy to throw them out as nuisances in society. Such persons were little capable of the regular subordination, the strict economy, and persevering industry, which their situation required. The Indians observing their misconduct, and that every precaution for sustenance or safety was neglected, not only withheld the supplies of provisions which they were accustomed to furnish, but harrassed them with continual hostilities. All their subsistence was derived from the stores which they had brought from England; these were soon consumed; then the domestic animals sent out to breed in the country were devoured; and by this inconsiderate waste, they were reduced to such extremity of famine, as not only to eat the most nauseous and unwholesome roots and berries, but to feed on the bodies of the Indians whom they slew, and even on those of their companions who sunk under the oppression of such complicated distress. In less than six months, of five hun-

The colony reduced by famine.

dred persons whom Smith left in Virginia, only sixty remained; and these so feeble and dejected, that they could not have survived for ten days, if succour had not arrived from a quarter whence they did not expect it.[p]

Gates and Summers arrive from Bermudas.

When Gates and Summers were thrown ashore on Bermudas, fortunately not a single person on board their ship perished. A considerable part of their provisions and stores, too, was saved, and in that delightful spot Nature, with spontaneous bounty, presented to them such a variety of her productions, that a hundred and fifty people subsisted in affluence for ten months on an uninhabited island. Impatient, however, to escape from a place where they were cut off from all intercourse with mankind, they set about building two barks with such tools and materials as they had, and by amazing efforts of perseverance and ingenuity they finished them. In these they embarked, and steered directly towards Virginia, in hopes of finding an ample consolation for all their toils and dangers in the embraces of their companions, and amidst the comforts of a flourishing colony. After a more prosperous navigation than they could have expected in their ill-constructed vessels, they

[p] Stith, p. 116. Purchas, iv. 1748.

BOOK IX.

May 25.

Find the colony in the utmost distress.

landed at James-Town. But instead of that joyful interview for which they fondly looked, a spectacle presented itself which struck them with horror. They beheld the miserable remainder of their countrymen emaciated with famine and sickness, sunk in despair, and in their figure and looks rather resembling spectres than human beings. As Gates and Summers, in full confidence of finding plenty of provisions in Virginia, had brought with them no larger stock than was deemed necessary for their own support during the voyage, their inability to afford relief to their countrymen added to the anguish with which they viewed this unexpected scene of distress. Nothing now remained but instantly to abandon a country, where it was impossible to subsist any longer; and though all that could be found in the stores of the colony, when added to what remained of the stock brought from Bermudas, did not amount to more than was sufficient to support them for sixteen days, at the most scanty allowance, they set sail, in hopes of being able to reach Newfoundland, where they expected to be relieved by their countrymen employed at that season in the fishery there.[q]

[q] A minute and curious account of the shipwreck of Gates and Summers, and of their adventures in Bermudas, was composed by Strachy, a gentleman who accompanied them, and was published by Purchas, iv. 1734.

BOOK IX.

But it was not the will of Heaven that all the labour of the English, in planting this colony, as well as all their hopes of benefit from its future prosperity, should be for ever lost. Before Gates, and the melancholy companions of his voyage, had reached the mouth of James-River, they were met by Lord Delaware, with three ships, that brought a large recruit of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and every thing requisite for defence or cultivation. By persuasion and authority he prevailed on them to return to James-Town, where they found their fort, their magazines, and houses entire, which Sir Thomas Gates, by some happy chance, had preserved from being set on fire at the time of their departure. A society so feeble and disordered in its frame, required a tender and skilful hand to cherish it, and restore its vigour. This it found in Lord Delaware: he searched into the causes of their misfortunes, as far as he could discover them, amidst the violence of their mutual accusations; but instead of exerting his power in punishing crimes that were past, he employed his prudence in healing their dissentions, and in guarding against a repetition of the same fatal errors. By unwearied assiduities, by the respect due to an amiable and beneficent character, by knowing how to mingle severity with indulgence, and

Are about to return to England, when Lord Delaware arrives.

Wise administration of Lord Delaware.

BOOK IX.

when to assume the dignity of his office, as well as when to display the gentleness natural to his own temper, he gradually reconciled men corrupted by anarchy to subordination and discipline, he turned the attention of the idle and profligate to industry, and taught the Indians again to reverence and dread the English name. Under such an administration, the colony began once more to assume a promising appearance; when, unhappily for it, a complication of diseases brought on by the climate obliged Lord Delaware to quit the country[r]; the government of which he committed to Mr. Percy.

1611. March 28. His health obliges him to return to England.

May 10. Sir Thomas Dale appointed governor.

Martial law established.

He was soon superseded by the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale; in whom the company had vested more absolute authority than in any of his predecessors, empowering him to rule by martial law; a short code of which, founded on the practice of the armies in the Low Countries, the most rigid military school at that time in Europe, they sent out with him. This system of government is so violent and arbitrary, that even the Spaniards themselves had not ventured to introduce it into their settlements; for among them, as soon as a plantation began and the arts of peace succeeded to the operations of war,

[r] Stith, p. 117. Purchas, iv. 1764.

the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate was uniformly established. But however unconstitutional or oppressive this may appear, it was adopted by the advice of Sir Francis Bacon, the most enlightened philosopher, and one of the most eminent lawyers of the age.[s] The company, well acquainted with the inefficacy of every method which they had hitherto employed for restraining the unruly mutinous spirits which they had to govern, eagerly adopted a plan that had the sanction of such high authority to recommend it. Happily for the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, who was entrusted with this dangerous power, exercised it with prudence and moderation. By the vigour which the summary mode of military punishment gave to his administration, he introduced into the colony more perfect order than had ever been established there; and at the same time he tempered his vigour with so much discretion, that no alarm seems to have been given by this formidable innovation.[t]

1612. March 12. New charter issued to the colony; new privileges conferred.

The regular form which the colony now began to assume induced the King to issue a new charter for the encouragement of the adventurers, by which he not only confirmed

[s] Bacon, Essay on Plantations, p. 3.
[t] Stith, p. 112.

BOOK IX.

all their former privileges, and prolonged the term of exemption from payment of duties on the commodities exported by them, but granted them more extensive property, as well as more ample jurisdiction. All the islands lying within three hundred leagues of the coast were annexed to the province of Virginia. In consequence of this, the company took possession of Bermudas, and the other small islands discovered by Gates and Summers, and at the same time prepared to send out a considerable reinforcement to the colony at James-Town. The expence of those extraordinary efforts was defrayed by the profits of a lottery, which amounted nearly to thirty thousand pounds. This expedient they were authorised to employ by their new charter[u]; and it is remarkable, as the first instance, in the English history, of any public countenance given to this pernicious seducing mode of levying money. But the House of Commons, which towards the close of this reign began to observe every measure of government with jealous attention, having remonstrated against the institution, as unconstitutional and impolitic, James recalled the licence under the sanction of which it had been established.[v]

[u] Stith, p. 191. Appendix, 23, &c.
[v] Chalmer's Annals, i. 32.

BOOK

By the severe discipline of martial law, the activity of the colonists was forced into a proper direction, and exerted itself in useful industry. This, aided by a fertile soil and favourable climate, soon enabled them to raise such a large stock of provisions, that they were no longer obliged to trust for subsistence to the precarious supplies which they obtained or extorted from the Indians. In proportion as the English became more independent, the natives courted their friendship upon more equal terms. The happy effects of this were quickly felt. Sir Thomas Dale concluded a treaty with one of their most powerful and warlike tribes, situated on the River Chickahominy, in which they consented to acknowledge themselves subjects to the King of Great Britain, to assume henceforth the name of Englishmen, to send a body of their warriors to the assistance of the English, as often as they took the field, against any enemy, and to deposit annually a stipulated quantity of Indian corn in the storehouses of the colony.[w] An event, which the early historians of Virginia relate with peculiar satisfaction, prepared the way for this union. Pocahuntas, the favourite daughter of the great Chief Powhatan, to whose intercession

Cultivation of the lands promoted.

Treaty with the natives.

[w] Hamer Solida Narratio, ap. de Bry. Pars x. p. 33. Stith, p. 130.

BOOK IX.

Captain Smith was indebted for his life, persevered in her partial attachment to the English; and as she frequently visited their settlements, where she was always received with respectful hospitality, her admiration of their arts and manners continued to increase. During this intercourse, her beauty, which is represented as far superior to that of her countrywomen, made such impression on the heart of Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank in the colony, that he warmly solicited her to accept of him as a husband. Where manners are simple, courtship is not tedious. Neither artifice prevents, nor ceremony forbids the heart from declaring its sentiments. Pocahuntas readily gave her consent; Dale encouraged the alliance, and Powhatan did not disapprove it. The marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp; and from that period a friendly correspondence subsisted between the colony and all the tribes subject to Powhatan, or that stood in awe of his power. Rolfe and his princess (for by that name the writers of the last age always distinguish her) set out for England, where she was received by James and his Queen with the respect suited to her birth. Being carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, she was publicly baptized, but died a few years after, on her return to America, leaving one son from whom are sprung some of the most respectable families

Rolfe marries the daughter of an Indian Chief.

in Virginia, who boast of their descent from the race of the ancient rulers of their country.[x] But notwitstanding the visible good effects of that alliance, none of Rolfe's countrymen seem to have imitated the example which he set them, of intermarrying with the natives. Of all the Europeans who have settled in America, the English have availed themselves least of this obvious method of conciliating the affection of its original inhabitants; and, either from the shyness conspicuous in their national character, or from the want of that pliant facility of manners which accommodates itself to every situation, they have been more averse than the French and Portuguese, or even the Spaniards, from incorporating with the native Americans. The Indians, courting such an union, offered their daughters in marriage to their new guests: and when they did not accept of the proffered alliance, they naturally imputed it to pride, and to their contempt of them as an inferior order of beings.[y]

Land in Virginia first becomes property.

DURING the interval of tranquillity procured by the alliance with Powhatan, an important change was made in the state of the colony.

[x] Hamer Solida Narratio, ap. de Bry. Pars x. p. 23. Stith, p. 129. 146. Smith's Travels, p. 113. 121.

[y] Beverley's Hist. of Virg. p. 25.

BOOK IX.

Hitherto no right of private property in land had been established. The fields that were cleared had been cultivated by the joint labour of the colonists; their product was carried to the common storehouses, and distributed weekly to every family, according to its number and exigencies. A society, destitute of the first advantage resulting from social union, was not formed to prosper. Industry, when not excited by the idea of property in what was acquired by its own efforts, made no vigorous exertion. The head had no inducement to contrive, nor the hand to labour. The idle and improvident trusted entirely to what was issued from the common store; the assiduity even of the sober and attentive relaxed, when they perceived that others were to reap the fruit of their toil; and it was computed, that the united industry of the colony did not accomplish as much work in a week as might have been performed in a day, if each individual had laboured on his own account. In order to remedy this, Sir Thomas Dale divided a considerable portion of the land into small lots, and granted one of these to each individual in full property. From the moment that industry had the certain prospect of a recompense, it advanced with rapid progress. The articles of primary necessity were cultivated with so much attention as secured the

Advantages.

means of subsistence; and such schemes of improvement were formed as prepared the way for the introduction of opulence into the colony.[z] BOOK IX.

Culture of tobacco introduced.

THE industrious spirit which began to rise among the planters was soon directed towards a new object; and they applied to it for some time with such inconsiderate ardour as was productive of fatal consequences. The culture of tobacco, which has since become the staple of Virginia, and the source of its prosperity, was introduced about this time into the colony. As the taste for that weed continued to increase in England, notwithstanding the zealous declamations of James against it, the tobacco imported from Virginia came to a ready market; and though it was so much inferior in quality or in estimation to that raised by the Spaniards in the West-Indian islands, that a pound of the latter sold for eighteen shillings, and of the former for no more than three shillings, it yielded a considerable profit. Allured by the prospect of such a certain and quick return, every other species of industry was neglected. The land which ought to have been reserved for raising provisions, and even

1616.

Bad consequences arising from it.

[z] Smith's Travels, p. 114. Stith, p. 131.

BOOK IX. the streets of James-Town, were planted with tobacco. Various regulations were framed to restrain this ill-directed activity. But, from eagerness for present gain, the planters disregarded every admonition. The means of subsistence became so scanty, as forced them to renew their demands upon the Indians, who seeing no end of those exactions, their antipathy to the English name revived with additional rancour, and they began to form schemes of vengeance, with a secrecy and silence peculiar to Americans. [a]

MEANWHILE the colony, notwithstanding this error in its operations, and the cloud that was gathering over its head, continued to wear an aspect of prosperity. Its numbers increased by successive migrations; the quantitity of tobacco exported became every year more considerable, and several of the planters were not only in an easy situation, but advancing fast to opulence [b]; and by two events, which happened nearly at the same time, both population and industry were greatly promoted. As few women had hitherto ventured to encounter the hardships which were unavoidable in an unknown and uncultivated country, most of the colonists,

[a] Stith, p. 140. 147. 164. 168. Smith, p. 130. Purchas, iv. 1787. [b] Smith, p. 139.

constrained to live single, considered themselves as no more than sojourners in a land to which they were not attached by the tender ties of a family and children. In order to induce them to settle there, the company took advantage of the apparent tranquillity in the country, to send out a considerable number of young women, of humble birth indeed, but of unexceptionable character, and encouraged the planters, by premiums and immunities, to marry them.[c] These new companions were received with such fondness, and many of them so comfortably established, as invited others to follow their example; and by degrees thoughtless adventurers, assuming the sentiments of virtuous citizens and of provident fathers of families, became solicitous about the prosperity of a country, which they now considered as their own. As the colonists began to form more extensive plans of industry, they were unexpectedly furnished with means of executing them with greater facility. A Dutch ship from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James-River, sold a part of her cargo of negroes to the planters[d]; and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue under a sultry climate than Europeans, their number has

Young women emigrate from England to Virginia.

Negroes first introduced.

[c] Stith. p. 166. 197.

[d] Beverley, p. 37.

BOOK IX.

been increased by continual importation; their aid seems now to be essential to the existence of the colony, and the greater part of field-labour in Virginia is performed by servile hands.

But as the condition of the colony improved, the spirit of its members became more independent. To Englishmen the summary and severe decisions of martial law, however tempered by the mildness of their governors, appeared intolerably oppressive; and they longed to recover the privileges to which they had been accustomed under the liberal form of government in their native country. In compliance with this spirit, Sir George Yeardley, in the year 1619, called the first general assembly that was ever held in Virginia; and the numbers of the people were now so increased, and their settlements so dispersed, that eleven corporations appeared by their representatives in this convention, where they were permitted to assume legislative power, and to exercise the noblest function of free men. The laws enacted in it seem neither to have been many, nor of great importance; but the meeting was highly acceptable to the people, as they now beheld among themselves an image of the English constitution, which they reverenced as the

1619. June. First general assembly of representatives.

most perfect model of free government. In order to render this resemblance more complete, and the rights of the planters more certain, the company issued a charter or ordinance, which gave a legal and permanent form to the government of the colony. The supreme legislative authority in Virginia, in imitation of that in Great Britain, was divided and lodged partly in the governor, who held the place of the sovereign; partly in a council of state named by the company, which possessed some of the distinctions, and exercised some of the functions belonging to the peerage; partly in a general council or assembly composed of the representatives of the people, in which were vested powers and privileges similar to those of the House of Commons. In both these councils all questions were to be determined by the majority of voices, and a negative was reserved to the governor; but no law or ordinance, though approved of by all the three members of the legislature, was to be of force, until it was ratified in England by a general court of the company, and returned under its seal.[c] Thus the constitution of the colony was fixed, and the members of it are henceforth to be considered, not merely as servants of a commercial company, dependant on the will and orders of their superior, but as free men and citizens.

July 24. New constitution given to the colony.

[c] Stith, Appendix, p. 32, &c.

BOOK IX.

Industry increased.

THE natural effect of that happy change in their condition was an increase of their industry. The product of tobacco in Virginia was now equal, not only to the consumption of it in Great Britain[f], but could furnish some quantity for a foreign market. The company opened a trade for it with Holland, and established warehouses in Middleburgh and Flushing. James, and his privy council, alarmed at seeing the commerce of a commodity, for which the demand was daily increasing, turned into a channel that tended to the diminution of the revenue, by depriving it of a considerable duty imposed on the importation of tobacco, interposed with vigour to check this innovation. Some expedient was found, by which the matter was adjusted for the present;

Direct trade of the colony with Holland.

Gives offence to James.

[f] It is a matter of some curiosity to trace the progress of the consumption of this unnecessary commodity. The use of tobacco seems to have been first introduced into England about the year 1586. Possibly a few sea-faring persons may have acquired a relish for it by their intercourse with the Spaniards previous to that period; but the use of it cannot be denominated a national habit sooner than the time I have mentioned. Upon an average of the seven years immediately preceding the year 1622, the whole import of tobacco into England amounted to a hundred and forty-two thousand and eighty-five pounds weight. Stith, p. 246. From this it appears, that the taste had spread with a rapidity which is remarkable. But how inconsiderable is that quantity to what is now consumed in Great Britain!

but it is remarkable as the first instance of a difference in sentiment between the parent-state and the colony, concerning their respective rights. The former concluded, that the trade of the colony should be confined to England, and all its productions be landed there. The latter claimed, not only the general privilege of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market, but pleaded the particular concessions in their charter, by which an unlimited freedom of commerce seemed to be granted to them.[g] The time for a more full discussion of this important question was not yet arrived.

The colony neglects the precautions necessary for its defence against the Indians.

But while the colony continued to increase so fast, that settlements were scattered, not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but began to extend to the Rapahannock, and even to the Potowmack, the English, relying on their own numbers, and deceived by this appearance of prosperity, lived in full security. They neither attended to the movements of the Indians, nor suspected their machinations, and though surrounded by a people whom they might have known from experience to be both artful and vindictive, they neglected every precaution for their own

[g] Stith, p. 200, &c.

BOOK IX.

safety that was requisite in such a situation. Like the peaceful inhabitants of a society completely established, they were no longer soldiers but citizens, and were so intent on what was subservient to the comfort or embellishment of civil life, that every martial exercise began to be laid aside as unnecessary. The Indians, whom they commonly employed as hunters, were furnished with fire-arms, and taught to use them with dexterity. They were permitted to frequent the habitations of the English at all hours, and received as innocent visitants whom there was no reason to dread. This inconsiderate security enabled the Indians to prepare for the execution of that plan of vengeance, which they meditated with all the deliberate forethought which is agreeable to their temper. Nor did they want a leader capable of conducting their schemes with address. On the death of Powhatan, in the year 1618, Opechancanough succeeded him, not only as wirowance, or chief of his own tribe, but in that extensive influence over all the Indian nations of Virginia, which induced the English writers to distinguish them by the name of Emperor. According to the Indian tradition, he was not a native of Virginia, but came from a distant country to the south-west, possibly from some province of the Mex-

General massacre of the English planned by the Indians.

ican empire.[h] But as he was conspicuous for all the qualities of highest estimation among savages, a fearless courage, great strength and agility of body, and crafty policy, he quickly rose to eminence and power. Soon after his elevation to the supreme command, a general massacre of the English seems to have been resolved upon; and during four years, the means of perpetrating it with the greatest facility and success were concerted with amazing secrecy. All the tribes contiguous to the English settlements were successively gained, except those on the eastern shore, from whom, on account of their peculiar attachment to their new neighbours, every circumstance that might discover what they intended was carefully concealed. To each tribe its station was allotted, and the part it was to act prescribed. On the morning of March 22. the day consecrated to vengeance, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed, while the English were so little aware of the impending destruction, that they received with unsuspicious hospitality several persons sent by Opechancanough, under pretext of delivering presents of venison and fruits, but in reality to observe their motions. Finding them perfectly secure, at mid-day, the mo-

Executed on most of the settlements.

[h] Beverley, p. 51.

BOOK IX.

ment that was previously fixed for this deed of horror, the Indians rushed at once upon them in all their different settlements, and murdered men, women, and children, with undistinguishing rage, and that rancorous cruelty with which savages treat their enemies. In one hour nearly a fourth part of the whole colony was cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been universal, if compassion, or a sense of duty, had not moved a converted Indian, to whom the secret was communicated the night before the massacre, to reveal it to his master in such time as to save James-Town, and some adjacent settlements; and if the English in other districts had not run to their arms with resolution prompted by despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse their assailants, who, in the execution of their plan, did not discover courage equal to the sagacity and art with which they had concerted it.[i]

But though the blow was thus prevented from descending with its full effect, it proved very grievous to an infant colony. In some settlements not a single Englishman escaped. Many persons of prime note in the colony, and

[i] Stith, p. 208, &c. Purchas, iv. 1788, &c.

among these several members of the council, were slain. The survivors, overwhelmed with grief, astonishment, and terror, abandoned all their remote settlements, and, crowding together for safety to James-Town, did not occupy a territory of greater extent than had been planted soon after the arrival of their countrymen in Virginia. Confined within those narrow boundaries, they were less intent on schemes of industry, than on thoughts of revenge. Every man took arms. A bloody war against the Indians commenced; and, bent on exterminating the whole race, neither old nor young were spared. The conduct of the Spaniards in the southern regions of America was openly proposed as the most proper model to imitate[k]; and regardless, like them, of those principles of faith, honour, and humanity, which regulate hostility among civilised nations and set bounds to its rage, the English deemed every thing allowable that tended to accomplish their design. They hunted the Indians like wild beasts, rather than enemies; and as the pursuit of them to their places of retreat in the woods, which covered their country, was both difficult and dangerous, they endeavoured to allure them from their

Bloody war with the Indians.

[k] Stith, p. 233.

BOOK IX.

inaccessible fastnesses by offers of peace and promises of oblivion, made with such an artful appearance of sincerity as deceived their crafty leader, and induced them to return to their former settlements, and resume their usual peaceful occupations. The behaviour of the two people seemed now to be perfectly reversed. The Indians, like men acquainted with the principles of integrity and good faith, on which the intercourse between nations is founded, confided in the reconciliation, and lived in absolute security without suspicion of danger; while the English, with perfidious craft, were preparing to imitate savages in their revenge and cruelty. On the approach of harvest, when they knew an hostile attack would be most formidable and fatal, they fell suddenly upon all the Indian plantations, murdered every person on whom they could lay hold, and drove the rest to the woods, where so many perished with hunger, that some of the tribes nearest to the English were totally extirpated. This atrocious deed, which the perpetrators laboured to represent as a necessary act of retaliation, was followed by some happy effects. It delivered the colony so entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its settlements began again to extend, and its industry to revive.

BOOK IX.

Company at home divided by factions.

But unfortunately at this juncture the state of the company in England, in which the property of Virginia and the government of the colony settled there were vested, prevented it from seconding the efforts of the planters, by such a reinforcement of men, and such a supply of necessaries, as were requisite to replace what they had lost. The company was originally composed of many adventurers, and increased so fast by the junction of new members, allured by the prospect of gain, or the desire of promoting a scheme of public utility, that its general courts formed a numerous assembly.[1] The operation of every political principle and passion, that spread through the kingdom, was felt in those popular meetings, and influenced their decisions. As towards the close of James's reign more just and enlarged sentiments with respect to constitutional liberty were diffused among the people, they came to understand their rights better and to assert them with greater boldness; a distinction formerly little known, but now familiar in English policy, began to be established between the court and country parties, and the leaders of each endeavoured to derive power and consequence from every quarter. Both exerted themselves with emulation, in order

[1] Stith, p. 272. 276.

BOOK IX. to obtain the direction of a body so numerous and respectable as the company of Virginian adventurers. In consequence of this, business had been conducted in every general court for some years, not with the temperate spirit of merchants, deliberating concerning their mutual interest, but with the animosity and violence natural to numerous assemblies, by which rival factions contend for superiority.[m]

James institutes an inquiry into their conduct.

As the King did not often assemble the great council of the nation in parliament, the general courts of the company became a theatre, on which popular orators displayed their talents; the proclamations of the crown, and acts of the privy council, with respect to the commerce and police of the colony, were canvassed there with freedom, and censured with severity, ill-suited to the lofty ideas which James entertained of his own wisdom, and the extent of his prerogative. In order to check this growing spirit of discussion, the ministers employed all their address and influence to gain as many members of the company as might give them the direction of their deliberations. But so unsuccessful were they in this attempt, that every measure proposed by them was reprobated by a vast majority, and

[m] Stith, p. 229, &c. Chalmers, p. 59.

sometimes without any reason, but because they were the proposers of it. James, little favourable to the power of any popular assembly, and weary of contending with one over which he had laboured in vain to obtain an ascendant, began to entertain thoughts of dissolving the company, and new-modelling its constitution. Pretexts, neither unplausible, nor destitute of some foundation, seemed to justify this measure. The slow progress of the colony, the large sums of money expended, and great number of men who had perished in attempting to plant it, the late massacre by the Indians, and every disaster that had befallen the English from their first migration to America, were imputed solely to the inability of a numerous company to conduct an enterprise so complex and arduous. The nation felt sensibly its disappointment in a scheme in which it had engaged with sanguine expectations of advantage, and wished impatiently for such an impartial scrutiny into former proceedings as might suggest more salutary measures in the future administration of the colony. The present state of its affairs, as well as the wishes of the people, seemed to call for the interposition of the crown; and James, eager to display the superiority of his royal wisdom, in correcting those errors into which the company

BOOK IX. 1623. May 9.

had been betrayed by inexperience in the arts of government, boldly undertook the work of reformation. Without regarding the rights conveyed to the company by their charter, and without the formality of any judicial proceeding for annulling it, he, by virtue of his prerogative, issued a commission, empowering some of the judges, and other persons of note, to examine into all the transactions of the company from its first establishment, and to lay the result of their inquiries, together with their opinion concerning the most effectual means of rendering the colony more prosperous[n], before the privy council. At the same time, by a strain of authority still higher, he ordered all the records and papers of the company to be seized, and two of its principal officers to be arrested. Violent and arbitrary as these acts of authority may now appear, the commissioners carried on their inquiry without any obstruction, but what arose from some feeble and ineffectual remonstrances of the company. The commissioners, though they conducted their scrutiny with much activity and vigour[o], did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company; but their report, with respect to its operations, seems to have been very unfavourable, as the

[n] Stith. p. 288.

[o] Smith's Travels, p. 165, &c.

King, in consequence of it, signified to the company his intention of vesting the supreme government of the company in a governor and twelve assistants, to be resident in England, and the executive power in a council of twelve, which should reside in Virginia. The governor and assistants were to be originally appointed by the King. Future vacancies were to be supplied by the governor and his assistants, but their nomination was not to take effect until it should be ratified by the privy council. The twelve counsellors in Virginia were to be chosen by the governor and assistants; and this choice was likewise subjected to the review of the privy council. With an intention to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be deemed sacred; and for the more effectual security of it, all grants of lands from the former company were to be confirmed by the new one. In order to facilitate the execution of this plan, the King required the company instantly to surrender its charter into his hands.[p]

Oct. 8. Company required to surrender its charter.

But here James and his ministers encountered a spirit, of which they seem not to have been aware. They found the members of the

Company refuses.

[p] Stith, p. 293, &c.

BOOK IX.

company unwilling tamely to relinquish rights of franchises, conveyed to them with such legal formality, that upon faith in their validity they had expended considerable sums [q]; and still more averse to the abolition of a popular form of government, in which every proprietor had a voice, in order to subject a colony, in which they were deeply interested, to the dominion of a small junto absolutely dependent on the crown. Neither promises nor threats could induce them to depart from these sentiments; and in a general court the King's proposal was almost unanimously rejected, and a resolution taken to defend to the utmost their chartered rights, if these should be called in question in any court of justice. James, highly offended at their presumption in daring to oppose his will, directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, that the validity of its charter might be tried in the Court of King's Bench; and in order to aggravate the charge, by collecting additional proofs of mal-administration, he appointed some persons in whom he could confide, to repair to Virginia to inspect the state of the colony, and inquire into the conduct of the company, and of its officers there.

Oct. 20.

Nov. 10.

[q] Chalmers, p. 61.

THE law-suit in the King's Bench did not hang long in suspense. It terminated, as was usual in that reign, in a decision perfectly consonant to the wishes of the monarch. The charter was forfeited, the company was dissolved, and all the rights and privileges conferred upon it returned to the King, from whom they flowed. [r]

Trial in the King's Bench, and dissolution of the company. June 1624.

SOME writers, particularly Stith, the most intelligent and best informed historian of Virginia, mention the dissolution of the company as a most disastrous event to the colony. Animated with liberal sentiments, imbibed in an age when the principles of liberty were more fully unfolded than under the reign of James, they viewed his violent and arbitrary proceedings on this occasion with such indignation, that their abhorrence of the means which he employed to accomplish his design seems to have rendered them incapable of contemplating its effects with discernment and candour. There is not perhaps any mode of governing an infant colony less friendly to its liberty, than the dominion of an exclusive corporation, possessed of all the powers which James had conferred upon the company of adventurers in Virginia. During se-

Defects in the first constitution of the colonnies.

[r] Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 618, &c. Chalmers, p. 62.

BOOK IX.

veral years the colonists can hardly be considered in any other light than as servants to the company, nourished out of its stores, bound implicitly to obey its orders, and subjected to the most rigorous of all forms of government, that of martial law. Even after the native spirit of Englishmen began to rouse under oppression, and had extorted from their superiors the right of enacting laws for the government of that community of which they were members, as no act, though approved of by all the branches of the provincial legislature, was held to be of legal force, until it was ratified by a general court in England, the company still retained the paramount authority in its own hands. Nor was the power of the company more favourable to the prosperity of the colony than to its freedom. A numerous body of merchants, as long as its operations are purely commercial, may carry them on with discernment and success. But the mercantile spirit seems ill adapted to conduct an enlarged and liberal plan of civil policy, and colonies have seldom grown up to maturity and vigour under its narrow and interested regulations. To the unavoidable defects in administration which this occasioned, were added errors arising from inexperience. The English merchants of that age had not those extensive views which a general com-

merce opens to such as have the direction of it. When they first began to venture out of the beaten track, they groped their way with timidity and hesitation. Unacquainted with the climate and soil of America, and ignorant of the productions best suited to them, they seem to have had no settled plan of improvement, and their schemes were continually varying. Their system of government was equally fluctuating. In the course of eighteen years ten different persons presided over the province as chief governors. No wonder that, under such administration, all the efforts to give vigour and stability to the colony should prove abortive, or produce only slender effects. These efforts, however, when estimated according to the ideas of that age, either with respect to commerce or to policy, were very considerable, and conducted with astonishing perseverance.

Weakness of the colony.

ABOVE an hundred and fifty thousand pounds were expended in this first attempt to plant an English colony in America[t]; and more than nine thousand persons were sent out from the mother-country to people this new settlement. At the dissolution of the company, the nation, in return for this waste of treasure and of

[t] Smith's Travels, p. 42. 167.

BOOK IX.

people did not receive from Virginia an annual importation of commodities exceeding twenty thousand pounds in value; and the colony was so far from having added strength to the state by an increase of population, that, in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-four, scarcely two thousand persons survived[u]: a wretched remnant of the numerous emigrants who had flocked thither with sanguine expectations of a very different fate.

Temporary council appointed for the government of Virginia.

THE company, like all unprosperous societies, fell unpitied. The violent hand with which prerogative had invaded its rights was forgotten, and new prospects of success opened, under a form of government exempt from all the defects to which past disasters were imputed. The King and the nation concurred with equal ardour in resolving to encourage the colony. Soon after the final judgment in the Court of King's Bench against the company, James appointed a council of twelve persons to take the temporary direction of affairs in Virginia, that he might have leisure
Aug. 26. to frame with deliberate consideration proper regulations for the permanent government of the colony[v]. Pleased with such an opportunity of exercising his talents as a legislator, he began

[u] Chalmers' Annals, p. 69. [v] Rymer, xvii. 618, &c.

to turn his attention towards the subject; but death prevented him from completing his plan. BOOK IX.

CHARLES I. on his accession to the throne, adopted all his father's maxims with respect to the colony in Virginia. He declared it to be a part of the empire annexed to the crown, and immediately subordinate to its jurisdiction: he conferred the title of Governor on Sir George Yardely, and appointed him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, and a secretary, to exercise supreme authority there, and enjoined them to conform, in every point, to such instructions as from time to time they might receive from him.[w] From the tenor of the King's commission, as well as from the known spirit of his policy, it is apparent, that he intended to vest every power of government, both legislative and executive, in the governor and council, without recourse to the representatives of the people, as possessing a right to enact laws for the community, or to impose taxes upon it. Yardely and his council, who seem to have been fit instruments for carrying this system of arbitrary rule into execution, did not fail to put such a construction on the words of their commission as was most favourable to

1625. March 27. Accession of Charles the First. His arbitrary government of the colony.

[w] Rymer, xviii. 72. 311.

BOOK IX. their own jurisdiction. During a great part of Charles's reign, Virginia knew no other law than the will of the Sovereign. Statutes were published, and taxes imposed, without once calling the representatives of the people to authorise them by their sanction. At the same time that the colonists were bereaved of political rights, which they deemed essential to freemen and citizens, their private property was violently invaded. A proclamation was issued, by which, under pretexts equally absurd and frivolous, they were prohibited from selling tobacco to any person but certain commissioners appointed by the King to purchase it on his account[x]; and they had the cruel mortification to behold the Sovereign, who should have afforded them protection, engross all the profits of their industry, by seizing the only valuable commodity which they had to vend, and retaining the monopoly of it in his own hands. While the staple of the colony in Virginia sunk in value under the oppression and restraints of a monopoly, property in land was rendered insecure by various grants of it, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed upon his favourites. These were not only of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavourable to the progress of

Grants and monopoly of tobacco.

[x] Rymer, xviii. 19.

cultivation; but from inattention, or imperfect acquaintance with the geography of the country, their boundaries were so inaccurately defined, that large tracts already occupied and planted were often included in them.

THE murmurs and complaints which such a system of administration excited, were augmented by the rigour with which Sir John Harvey, who succeeded Yardely in the government of the colony[y], enforced every act of power. Rapacious, unfeeling, and haughty, he added insolence to oppression, and neither regarded the sentiments, nor listened to the remonstrances of the people under his command. The colonists, far from the seat of government, and overawed by authority derived from a royal commission, submitted long to his tyranny and exactions. Their patience was at last exhausted; and in a transport of popular rage and indignation, they seized their governor, and sent him a prisoner to England, accompanied by two of their number, whom they deputed to prefer their accusations against him to the King. But this attempt to redress their own wrongs, by a proceeding so summary and violent as is hardly consistent with any idea of regular government, and can be

1627.

Colonists seize on Harvey their governor, and send him prisoner to England.

[y] Rymer, xviii. 980.

BOOK IX.

justified only in cases of such urgent necessity as rarely occur in civil society, was altogether repugnant to every notion which Charles entertained with respect to the obedience due by subjects to their sovereign. To him the conduct of the colonists appeared to be not only an usurpation of his right to judge and to punish one of his own officers, but an open and audacious act of rebellion against his authority. Without deigning to admit their deputies into his presence, or to hear one article of their charge against Harvey, the King instantly sent him back to his former station, with an ample renewal of all the powers belonging to it. But though Charles deemed this vigorous step necessary in order to assert his own authority, and to testify his displeasure with those who had presumed to offer such an insult to it, he seems to have been so sensible of the grievances under which the colonists groaned, and of the chief source from which they flowed, that soon after he not only removed a governor so justly odious to them, but named as a successor Sir William Berkeley, a person far superior to Harvey in rank and abilities, and still more distinguished by possessing all the popular virtues to which the other was a stranger.[z]

He is released by the King, and reinstated in his government.

1659.

Sir W. Berkeley appointed governor.

[z] Beverley's Hist. of Virg. p. 50. Chalmers' Annals, i. 118, &c.

UNDER his government the colony in Virginia remained, with some short intervals of interruption, almost forty years; and to his mild and prudent administration its increase and prosperity is in a great measure to be ascribed. It was indebted, however, to the King himself for such a reform of its constitution and policy, as gave a different aspect to the colony, and animated all its operations with new spirit. Though the tenor of Sir William Berkeley's commission was the same with that of his predecessor, he received instructions under the great seal, by which he was empowered to declare, that in all its concerns, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the colony was to be governed according to the laws of England: he was directed to issue writs for electing representatives of the people, who, in conjunction with the governor and council, were to form a general assembly, and to possess supreme legislative authority in the community: he was ordered to establish courts of justice, in which all questions, whether civil or criminal, were to be decided agreeably to the forms of judicial procedure in the mother-country. It is not easy to discover what were the motives which induced a monarch, tenacious in adhering to any opinion or system which he had once adopted, jealous to excess of his own rights, and adverse on every oc-

His mild and wise administration.

New privileges granted by Charles.

BOOK IX.

casion to any extension of the privileges claimed by his people, to relinquish his original plan of administration in the colony, and to grant such immunities to his subjects settled there. From the historians of Virginia, no less superficial than ill-informed, no light can be derived with respect to this point. It is most probable, the dread of the spirit then rising in Great Britain extorted from Charles concessions so favourable to Virginia. After an intermission of almost twelve years, the state of his affairs compelled him to have recourse to the great council of the nation. There his subjects would find a jurisdiction independent of the crown,, and able to control its authority. There they hoped for legal redress of all their grievances. As the colonists in Virginia had applied for relief to a former parliament, it might be expected with certainty that they would lay their case before the first meeting of an assembly, in which they were secure of a favourable audience. Charles knew, that if the spirit of his administration in Virginia were to be tried by the maxims of the English constitution, it must be severely reprehended. He was aware that many measures of greater moment in his government would be brought under a strict review in parliament; and unwilling to give malecontents the advantage of adding a charge of

Motives that appear to have influenced the King.

oppression in the remote part of his dominions to a catalogue of domestic grievances, he artfully endeavoured to take the merit of having granted voluntarily to his people in Virginia such privileges as he foresaw would be extorted from him.

Virginia flourishes under the new government.

BUT though Charles established the internal government of Virginia on a model similar to that of the English constitution, and conferred on his subjects there all the rights of freemen and citizens, he was extremely solicitous to maintain its connection with the parent-state. With this view he instructed Sir William Berkeley strictly to prohibit any commerce of the colony with foreign nations; and in order more certainly to secure exclusive possession of all the advantages arising from the sale of its productions, he was required to take a bond from the master of each vessel that sailed from Virginia, to land his cargo in some part of the King's dominions in Europe.[a] Even under this restraint, such is the kindly influence of free government on society, the colony advanced so rapidly in industry and population, that at the beginning of the civil war the English settled in it exceeded twenty thousand.[b]

[a] Chalmers' Annals, p. 219. 232. [b] Ibid. p. 125.

BOOK IX.

GRATITUDE towards a monarch, from whose hands they had received immunities which they had long wished, but hardly expected to enjoy, the influence and example of a popular governor, passionately devoted to the interests of his master, concurred in preserving inviolated loyalty among the colonists. Even after monarchy was abolished, after one King had been beheaded, and another driven into exile, the authority of the crown continued to be acknowledged and revered in Virginia. Irritated at this open defiance of its power, the parliament issued an ordinance, declaring, that as the settlement in Virginia had been made at the cost and by the people of England, it ought to be subordinate to and dependant upon the English commonwealth, and subject to such laws and regulations as are or shall be made in parliament; that, instead of this dutiful submission, the colonists had disclaimed the authority of the state, and audaciously rebelled against it; that on this account they were denounced notorious traitors, and not only all vessels belonging to natives of England, but those of foreign nations, were prohibited to enter their ports, or to carry on any commerce with them.

Remains attached to the royal cause.

1650.

Parliament makes war on Virginia.

IT was not the mode of that age to wage a war of words alone. The efforts of an high-

spirited government in asserting its own dignity were prompt and vigorous. A powerful squadron, with a considerable body of land-forces, was dispatched to reduce the Virginians to obedience. After compelling the colonies in Barbadoes and the other islands to submit to the commonwealth, the squadron entered the Bay of Chesapeak. Berkeley, with more courage than prudence, took arms to oppose this formidable armament; but he could not long maintain such an unequal contest. His gallant resistance, however, procured favourable terms to the people under his government. A general indemnity for all past offences was granted; they acknowledged the authority of the commonwealth, and were admitted to a participation of all the rights enjoyed by citizens.[c] Berkeley, firm to his principles of loyalty, disdained to make any stipulation for himself; and choosing to pass his days far removed from the seat of a government which he detested, continued to reside in Virginia as a private man, beloved and respected by all over whom he had formerly presided.

BOOK IX.

1651.

Virginia is forced to acknowledge the commonwealth.

Not satisfied with taking measures to subject the colonies, the commonwealth turned its

Restraints on the trade of the colony.

[c] Thurlow's State Papers, i. 197. Chalmers' Annals, p. 122. Beverley's Hist. p. 53.

BOOK IX. attention towards the most effectual mode of retaining them in dependence on the parent-state, and of securing to it the benefit of their increasing commerce. With this view the parliament framed two laws, one of which expressly prohibited all mercantile intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, and the other ordained, that no production of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners, or to the people of the colonies settled there, and navigated by an English commander[d], and by crews of which the greater part must be Englishmen. But while the wisdom of the commonwealth prescribed the channel in which the trade of the colonies was to be carried on, it was solicitous to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, by an act of parliament, which gave
1652. legal force to all the injunctions of James and Charles against planting tobacco in England.[e]

UNDER governors appointed by the commonwealth, or by Cromwell, when he usurped the supreme power, Virginia remained almost nine years in perfect tranquillity. During

[d] Scobel's Acts, p. 132. 176. [e] Ibid. p. 117.

that period, many adherents to the royal party, and among these some gentlemen of good families, in order to avoid danger and oppression, to which they were exposed in England, or in hopes of repairing their ruined fortunes, resorted thither. Warmly attached to the cause for which they had fought and suffered, and animated with all the passions natural to men recently engaged in a fierce and long protracted civil war, they, by their intercourse with the colonists, confirmed them in principles of loyalty, and added to their impatience and indignation under the restraints imposed on their commerce by their new masters. On the death of Mathews, the last governor named by Cromwell, the sentiments and inclination of the people, no longer under the control of authority, burst out with violence. They forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimously elected him governor of the colony: and as he refused to act under an usurped authority, they boldly erected the royal standard, and acknowledging Charles II. to be their lawful sovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles; and the Virginians long boasted, that as they were the last of the King's subjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the first who returned to their duty.[f]

The colonists dissatisfied with these restraints.

Are the first to acknowledge Charles II.

[f] Beverley, p. 55. Chalmers, p. 124.

BOOK IX.

Their loyalty ill rewarded.

HAPPILY for the people of Virginia, a revolution in England, no less sudden and unexpected, seated Charles on the throne of his ancestors, and saved them from the severe chastisement to which their premature declaration in his favour must have exposed them. On receiving the first account of this event, the joy and exultation of the colony were universal and unbounded. These, however, were not of long continuance. Gracious but unproductive professions of esteem and good-will were the only return made by Charles to loyalty and services, which in their own estimation were so distinguished, that no recompense was beyond what they might claim. If the King's neglect and ingratitude disappointed all the sanguine hopes which their vanity had founded on the merit of their past conduct, the spirit which influenced parliament in its commercial deliberations opened a prospect that alarmed them with respect to their future situation. In framing regulations for the encouragement of trade, which, during the convulsions of civil war, and amidst continual fluctuations in government, had met with such obstruction that it declined in every quarter; the House of Commons, instead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected from the restraints in their commerce imposed by the commonwealth and Cromwell, not only adopted all their ideas concerning this

branch of legislation, but extended them farther. This produced the *act of navigation*, the most important and memorable of any in the statute-book with respect to the history of English commerce. By it, besides several momentous articles foreign to the subject of this work, it was enacted, that no commodities should be imported into any settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in vessels of English or plantation built, whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners shall be English subjects, under pain of forfeiting ship and goods; that none but natural-born subjects, or such as have been naturalised, shall exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English settlement, under pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dying, of the growth or manufacture of the colonies, shall be shipped from them to any other country but England; and in order to secure the performance of this, a sufficient bond, with one surety, shall be given before sailing by the owners, for a specific sum proportional to the rate of the vessel employed by them.[s] The productions subjected to this restriction are distinguished, in the language of commerce

BOOK IX.

Navigation act.

[s] 12 Car. II. c. 18.

BOOK IX.

and finance, by the name of *enumerated commodities*; and as industry in its progress furnished new articles of value, these have been successively added to the roll, and subjected
1663. to the same restraint. Soon after, the act of navigation was extended, and additional restraints were imposed, by a new law, which prohibited the importation of any European commodity into the colonies, but what was laden in England in vessels navigated and manned as the act of navigation required. More effectual provision was made by this law for exacting the penalties to which the transgressors of the act of navigation were subjected; and the principles of policy, on which the various regulations contained in both statutes are founded, were openly avowed in a declaration, that as the plantations beyond seas are inhabited and peopled by subjects of England, they may be kept in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendered yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, as well as in the vent of English woollen and other manufactures and commodities; and in making England a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying

of them; and it being the usage of other nation to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves.[h] In prosecution of those favourite maxims, the English legislature proceeded a step farther. As the act of navigation had left the people of the colonies at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one plantation to another without paying any duty, it subjected them to a tax equivalent to what was paid by the consumers of these commodities in England.[i] 1672.

Effects of the act.

By these successive regulations, the plan of securing to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of shutting up every other channel into which it might be diverted, was perfected and reduced into complete system. On one side of the Atlantic these regulations have been extolled as an extraordinary effort of political sagacity, and have been considered as the great charter of national commerce, to which the parent-state is indebted for all its opulence and power. On the other, they have been execrated as a code of oppression, more suited to the illiberality of mercantile ideas, than to extensive views of legislative wisdom. Which of these opinions is best founded, I shall examine at large in

[h] 15 Car. II. c. 7. [i] 25 Car. II. c. 7.

BOOK IX. another part of this work. But in writing the history of the English settlements in America, it was necessary to trace the progress of those restraining laws with accuracy, as in every subsequent transaction we may observe a perpetual exertion, on the part of the mother-country, to enforce and extend them; and on the part of the colonies, endeavours no less unremitting, to elude or to obstruct their operation.

Colonists remonstrate against the act.

HARDLY was the act of navigation known in Virginia, and its effects began to be felt, when the colony remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But the commercial ideas of Charles and his ministers coincided so perfectly with those of parliament, that, instead of listening with a favourable ear to their applications, they laboured assiduously to carry the act into strict execution. For this purpose, instructions were issued to the governor, forts were built on the banks of the principal rivers, and small vessels appointed to cruise on the coast. The Virginians, seeing no prospect of obtaining exemption from the act, set themselves to evade it; and found means, notwithstanding the vigilance with which they were watched, of carrying on a considerable clandestine trade with foreigners, particularly with

the Dutch settled on Hudson's River. Imboldened by observing disaffection spread through the colony, some veteran soldiers who had served under Cromwell, and had been banished to Virginia, formed a design of rendering themselves masters of the country, and of asserting its independence on England. This rash project was discovered by one of their associates, and disconcerted by the vigorous exertions of Sir William Berkeley. But the spirit of discontent, though repressed, was not extinguished. Every day something occurred to revive and to nourish it. As it is with extreme difficulty that commerce can be turned into a new channel, tobacco, the staple of the colony, sunk prodigiously in value, when they were compelled to send it all to one market. It was some time before England could furnish them regularly full assortments of those necessary articles, without which the industry of the colony could not be carried on, or its prosperity secured. Encouraged by the symptoms of general languor and despondency which this declining state of the colony occasioned, the Indians seated towards the heads of the rivers ventured first to attack the remote settlements, and then to make incursions into the interior parts of the country. Unexpected as these

1663.

Colony attacked by the Indians.

BOOK IX.

hostilities were, from a people who during a long period had lived in friendship with the English, a measure taken by the King seems to have excited still greater terror among the most opulent people of the colony. Charles had imprudently imitated the example of his father, by granting such large tracts of land in Virginia to several of his courtiers, as tended to unsettle the distribution of property in the country, and to render the title of the most ancient planters to their estates precarious and questionable. From those various causes, which in a greater or lesser degree affected every individual in the colony, the indignation of the people became general, and was worked up to such a pitch, that nothing was wanting to precipitate them into the most desperate acts but some leader qualified to unite and to direct their operations.[k]

Discontents produced by the grants of land by the crown.

1676.

An insurrection in Virginia headed by N. Bacon.

SUCH a leader they found in Nathaniel Bacon, a colonel of militia, who, though he had been settled in Virginia only three years, had acquired, by popular manners, an insinuating address, and the consideration derived from having been regularly trained in England to the profession of law, such general esteem, that

[k] Chalmers' Annals, ch. 10. 13, 14. passim. Beverley, p. 58, &c.

he had been admitted into the council, and was regarded as one of the most respectable persons in the colony. Bacon was ambitious, eloquent, daring, and, prompted either by honest zeal to redress the public wrongs, or allured by hopes of raising himself to distinction and power, he mingled with the male-contents, and by his bold harangues and confident promises of removing all their grievances, he inflamed them almost to madness. As the devastations committed by the Indians was the calamity most sensibly felt by the people, he accused the governor of having neglected the proper measures for repelling the invasions of the savages, and exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and to exterminate that odious race. Great numbers assembled, and chose Bacon to be their general. He applied to the governor for a commission, confirming this election of the people, and offered to march instantly against the common enemy. Berkeley, accustomed by long possession of supreme command to high ideas of the respect due to his station, considered this tumultuary armament as an open insult to his authority, and suspected that, under specious appearances, Bacon concealed most dangerous designs. Unwilling, however, to give farther provocation to an incensed multitude, by a direct refusal of what they

BOOK IX. demanded, he thought it prudent to negotiate, in order to gain time; and it was not until he found all endeavours to soothe them ineffectual, that he issued a proclamation, requiring them, in the King's name, under the pain of being denounced rebels, to disperse.

But Bacon, sensible that he had now advanced so far as rendered it impossible to recede with honour or safety, instantly took the only resolution that remained in his situation. At the head of a chosen body of his followers, he marched rapidly to James-Town, and surrounding the house where the governor and council were assembled, demanded the commission for which he had formerly applied. Berkeley, with the proud indignant spirit of a cavalier, disdaining the requisitions of a rebel, peremptorily refused to comply, and calmly presented his naked breast to the weapons which were pointed against it. The council, however, foreseeing the fatal consequences of driving an enraged multitude, in whose power they were, to the last extremities of violence, prepared a commission, constituting Bacon general of all the forces in Virginia, and by their entreaties prevailed on the governor to sign it. Bacon with his troops retired in triumph. Hardly was the council delivered by his depar-

ture from the dread of present danger, when, by a transition not unusual in feeble minds, presumptuous boldness succeeded to excessive fear. The commission granted to Bacon was declared to be null, having been extorted by force; he was proclaimed a rebel, his followers were required to abandon his standard, and the militia ordered to arm, and to join the governor.

Bacon forces Sir W. Berkeley and the council to fly.

ENRAGED at conduct which he branded with the name of base and treacherous, Bacon, instead of continuing his march towards the Indian country, instantly wheeled about, and advanced with all his forces to James-Town. The governor, unable to resist such a numerous body, made his escape, and fled across the bay to Acomack on the eastern shore. Some of the counsellors accompanied him thither, others retired to their own plantations. Upon the flight of Sir William Berkeley, and dispersion of the council, the frame of civil government in the colony seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon became possessed of supreme and uncontrolled power. But as he was sensible that his countrymen would not long submit with patience to authority acquired and held merely by force of arms, he endeavoured to found it on a more constitutional basis, by obtaining

BOOK IX.

the sanction of the people's approbation. With this view he called together the most considerable gentlemen in the colony, and having prevailed on them to bind themselves by oath to maintain his authority, and to resist every enemy that should oppose it, he from that time considered his jurisdiction as legally established.

Sir W. Berkeley applies for succour to England.

BERKELEY, meanwhile, having collected some forces, made inroads into different parts of the colony, where Bacon's authority was recognised. Several sharp conflicts happened with various success. James-Town was reduced to ashes, and the best cultivated districts in the province were laid waste, sometimes by one party, and sometimes by the other. But it was not by his own exertions that the governor hoped to terminate the contest. He had early transmitted an account of the transactions in Virginia to the King, and demanded such a body of soldiers as would enable him to quell the insurgents, whom he represented as so exasperated by the restraints imposed on their trade, that they were impatient to shake off all dependence on the parent-state. Charles, alarmed at a commotion no less dangerous than unexpected, and solicitous to maintain his authority over a colony, the value of which was

daily increasing and more fully understood, speedily dispatched a small squadron with such a number of regular troops as Berkeley had required. Bacon and his followers received information of this armament, but were not intimidated at its approach. They boldly determined to oppose it with open force, and declared it to be consistent with their duty and allegiance, to treat all who should aid Sir William Berkeley as enemies, until they should have an opportunity of laying their grievances before their sovereign.[1] BOOK IX.

1677. Death of Bacon terminates the rebellion.

But while both parties prepared, with equal animosity, to involve their country in the horrors of civil war, an event happened, which quieted the commotion almost as suddenly as it had been excited. Bacon, when ready to take the field, sickened and died. None of his followers possessed such talents, or were so much objects of the people's confidence, as entitled them to aspire to the supreme command. Destitute of a leader to conduct and animate them, their sanguine hopes of success subsided; mutual distrust accompanied this universal despondency; all began to wish for an accommodation; and after a short negociation with Sir William Berkeley, they laid

[1] Beverley's Hist. p. 75, 76.

BOOK IX.

down their arms, and submitted to his government, on obtaining a promise of general pardon.

THUS terminated an insurrection, which, in the annals of Virginia, is distinguished by the name of *Bacon's rebellion.* During seven months this daring leader was master of the colony, while the royal governor was shut up in a remote and ill-peopled corner of it. What were the real motives that prompted him to take arms, and to what length he intended to carry his plans of reformation, either in commerce or government, it is not easy to discover, in the scanty materials from which we derive our information with respect to this transaction. It is probable, that his conduct, like that of other adventurers in faction, would have been regulated chiefly by events; and accordingly as these proved favourable or adverse, his views and requisitions would have been extended or circumscribed.

An assembly called; its moderation.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, as soon as he was reinstated in his office, called together the representatives of the people, that by their advice and authority public tranquillity and order might be perfectly established. Though this assembly met a few weeks after the death of

Bacon, while the memory of reciprocal injuries was still recent, and when the passions excited by such a fierce contest had but little time to subside, its proceedings were conducted with a moderation seldom exercised by the successful party in a civil war. No man suffered capitally; a small number were subjected to fines; others were declared incapable of holding any office of trust; and with those exceptions the promise of general indemnity was confirmed by law. Soon after, Berkeley was recalled, and Colonel Jefferys was appointed his successor.

State of the colony till the Revolution in 1688.

From that period to the Revolution in 1688, there is scarcely any memorable occurrence in the history of Virginia. A peace was concluded with the Indians. Under several successive governors, administration was carried on in the colony with the same arbitrary spirit that distinguished the latter years of Charles II. and the precipitate counsels of James II. The Virginians, with a constitution, which, in form, resembled that of England, enjoyed hardly any portion of the liberty which that admirable system of policy is framed to secure. They were deprived even of the last consolation of the oppressed, the power of complaining, by a law which, under severe pe-

BOOK IX.

nalties, prohibited them from speaking disrespectfully of the governor, or defaming, either by words or writing, the administration of the colony.[m] Still, however, the laws restraining their commerce were felt as an intolerable grievance, and nourished in secret a spirit of discontent, which, from the necessity of concealing it, acquired a greater degree of acrimony. But notwithstanding those unfavourable circumstances, the colony continued to increase. The use of tobacco was now become general in Europe; and though it had fallen considerably in price, the extent of demand compensated that diminution, and by giving constant employment to the industry of the planters diffused wealth among them. At the Revolution the number of inhabitants in the colony exceeded sixty thousand[n], and in the course of twenty-eight years its population had been more than doubled.[o]

[m] Beverley, p. 81. Chalmers, p. 341.
[n] Chalmers' Annals, p. 356. [o] Ibid. p. 125.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK X.

BOOK X.

History of the northern colony, and of the Plymouth company.

WHEN James I., in the year one thousand six hundred and six, made that magnificent partition, which has been mentioned, of a vast region in North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, between two trading companies of his subjects, he established the residence of the one in London, and of the other in Plymouth. The former was authorised to settle in the southern, and the latter in the northern part of this territory, then distinguished by the general name of Virginia. This arrangement seems to have been formed upon the idea of some speculative refiner, who aimed at diffusing the spirit of industry, by fixing the seat of one branch of the trade that

BOOK X.

was now to be opened, on the east coast of the island, and the other on the west. But London possesses such advantages of situation, that the commercial wealth and activity of England have always centered in the capital. At the beginning of the last century, the superiority of the metropolis in both these respects was so great, that though the powers and privileges conferred by the King on the two trading companies were precisely the same, the adventurers settled in Plymouth fell far short of those in London, in the vigour and success of their efforts towards accomplishing the purpose of their institution. Though the operations of the Plymouth company were animated by the public-spirited zeal of Sir John Popham, chief justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some other gentlemen of the west, all its exertions were feeble and unfortunate.

1606. First attempts to settle on the northern coast.

THE first vessel fitted out by the company was taken by the Spaniards. In the year one thousand six hundred and seven, a feeble settlement was made at Sagahadoc; but, on account of the rigour of the climate, was soon relinquished, and for some time nothing further was attempted than a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, or a pitiful traffic with the natives for skins and oil. On[illegible]f the vessels equipped for

this purpose was commanded by Captain Smith, whose name has been so often mentioned with distinction in the History of Virginia. The adventure was prosperous and lucrative. But his ardent enterprising mind could not confine its attention to objects so unequal to it as the petty details of a trading voyage. He employed a part of his time in exploring the coast, and in delineating its bays and harbours. On his return, he laid a map of it before Prince Charles, and, with the usual exaggeration of discoverers, painted the beauty and excellence of the country in such glowing colours, that the young prince, in the warmth of admiration, declared, that it should be called New England[a]: a name which effaced that of Virginia, and by which it is still distinguished.

Smith surveys that coast and calls it New England. 1614.

THE favourable accounts of the country by Smith, as well as the success of his voyage, seem to have encouraged private adventurers to prosecute the trade on the coast of New England with greater briskness; but did not inspire the languishing company of Plymouth with such vigour as to make any new attempt towards establishing a permanent colony there.

First attempts to settle unsuccessful.

[a] Smith's Trav. Book vi. p. 203, &c. Purchas, iv. p. 1837.

BOOK X.

Something more than the prospect of distant gain to themselves, or of future advantages to their country, was requisite, in order to induce men to abandon the place of their nativity, to migrate to another quarter of the globe, and endure innumerable hardships under an untried climate, and in an uncultivated land, covered with woods, or occupied by fierce and hostile tribes of savages. But what mere attention to private emolument or to national utility could not effect, was accomplished by the operation of an higher principle. Religion had gradually excited among a great body of the people a spirit that fitted them remarkably for encountering the dangers, and surmounting the obstacles, which had hitherto rendered abortive the schemes of colonisation in that part of America allotted to the company of Plymouth. As the various settlements in New England are indebted for their origin to this spirit, as in the course of our narrative we shall discern its influence mingling in all their transactions, and giving a peculiar tincture to the character of the people, as well as to their institutions, both civil and ecclesiastical, it becomes necessary to trace its rise and progress with attention and accuracy.

Religious disputes give rise to the New England colony.

WHEN the superstitions and corruptions of the Romish church prompted different nations

Different sentiments respecting

church-government, that prevailed at the Reformation.

of Europe to throw off its yoke, and to withdraw from its communion, the mode as well as degree of their separation was various. Wherever reformation was sudden, and carried on by the people without authority from their rulers, or in opposition to it, the rupture was violent and total. Every part of the ancient fabric was overturned, and a different system, not only with respect to doctrine, but to church-government, and the external rites of worship, was established. Calvin, who, by his abilities, learning, and austerity of manners, had acquired high reputation and authority in the Protestant churches, was a zealous advocate for this plan of thorough reformation. He exhibited a model of that pure form of ecclesiastical policy, which he approved in the constitution of the church of Geneva. The simplicity of its institutions, and still more their repugnancy to those of the Popish church, were so much admired by all the stricter reformers, that it was copied with some small variations, in Scotland, in the republic of the United Provinces, in the dominions of the House of Brandenburgh, in those of the Elector Palatine, and in the churches of the Hugonots in France.

But in those countries where the steps of departure from the church of Rome were

BOOK X.

taken with greater deliberation, and regulated by the wisdom or policy of the supreme magistrate, the separation was not so wide. Of all the reformed churches, that of England has deviated least from the ancient institutions. The violent but capricious spirit of Henry VIII. who, though he disclaimed the supremacy, revered the tenets of the Papal see, checked innovations in doctrine or worship during his reign. When his son ascended the throne, and the Protestant religion was established by law, the cautious prudence of Archbishop Cranmer moderated the zeal of those who had espoused the new opinions. Though the articles to be recognised as the system of national faith were framed conformably to the doctrines of Calvin, his notions with respect to church-government and the mode of worship were not adopted. As the hierarchy in England was incorporated with the civil policy of the kingdom, and constituted a member of the legislature, archbishops, and bishops, with all the subordinate ranks of ecclesiastics subject to them, were continued according to ancient form, and with the same dignity and jurisdiction. The peculiar vestments in which the clergy performed their sacred functions, bowing at the name of Jesus, kneeling at receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the sign of the Cross in baptism, the use of the Ring in mar-

riage, with several other rites to which long usage had accustomed the people, and which time had rendered venerable, were still retained. But though Parliament enjoined the observance of these ceremonies under very severe penalties[b], several of the more zealous clergy entertained scruples with respect to the lawfulness of complying with this injunction: and the vigilance and authority of Cranmer and Ridley with difficulty saved their infant church from the disgrace of a schism on this account.

Religious persecution by Mary.

On the accession of Mary, the furious zeal with which she persecuted all who had adopted the tenets of the reformers forced many eminent protestants, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, to seek an asylum on the continent. Francfort, Geneva, Basil, and Strasburgh, received them with affectionate hospitality as sufferers in the cause of truth, and the magistrates permitted them to assemble by themselves for religious worship. The exiles who took up their residence in the two former cities, modelled their little congregations according to the ideas of Calvin, and, with a spirit natural to men in their situation, eagerly adopted institutions which appeared to be farther removed from the

[b] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

BOOK X.

superstitions of popery than those of their own church. They returned to England as soon as Elizabeth re-established the protestant religion, not only with more violent antipathy to the opinions and practices of that church, by which they had been oppressed, but with a strong attachment to that mode of worship to which they had been for some years accustomed. As they were received by their countrymen with the veneration due to confessors, they exerted all the influence derived from that opinion, in order to obtain such a reformation in the English ritual as might bring it nearer to the standard of purity in foreign churches. Some of the Queen's most confidential ministers were warmly disposed to co-operate with them in this measure. But Elizabeth paid little regard to the inclinations of the one, or the sentiments of the other. Fond of pomp and ceremony, accustomed, according to the mode of that age, to study religious controversy, and possessing, like her father, such confidence in her own understanding, that she never doubted her capacity to judge and decide with respect to every point in dispute between contending sects[c], she chose to

Queen Elizabeth.

[c] Of the high idea which Elizabeth entertained with respect to her own superior skill in theology, as well as the haughty tone in which she dictated to her subjects what

act according to her own ideas, which led her rather to approach nearer to the church of Rome, in the parade of external worship, than to widen the breach by abolishing any rite already established.[d] An act of parliament, in the first year of her reign, not only required

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they ought to believe, we have a striking picture in her speech at the close of the parliament, A. D. 1585. — "One thing I may not overskip — Religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take root, and, being corrupted, may mar all the tree. And that there be some fault-finders with the order of the clergy, which so may make a slander to myself, and to the church, whose over-ruler God hath made me, whose negligence cannot be excused, if any schisms or errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some faults and negligences must grow and be, as in all other great charges it happeneth; and what vocation without? All which, if you, my lords of the clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look ye, therefore, well to your charges. This may be amended without needless or open exclamations. I am supposed to have many studies, but most philosophical. I must yield this to be true, that I suppose few (that be not professors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am not so simple that I understand not, nor so forgetful that I remember not; and yet, amidst my many volumes, I hope God's book hath not been my seldomest lectures, in which we find that by which reason all ought to believe. I see many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of his blessed will. The presumption is so great that I may not suffer it," &c. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 328.

[d] Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 138. 176.

BOOK X. an exact conformity to the mode of worship prescribed in the service-book, under most rigorous penalties, but empowered the Queen to enjoin the observance of such additional ceremonies as might tend, in her opinion, to render the public exercises of devotion more decent and edifying.[c]

Puritans. THE advocates for a farther reformation, notwithstanding this cruel disappointment of the sanguine hopes with which they returned to their native country, did not relinquish their design. They disseminated their opinions with great industry among the people. They extolled the purity of foreign churches, and inveighed against the superstitious practices with which religion was defiled in their own church. In vain did the defenders of the established system represent that these forms and ceremonies were in themselves things perfectly indifferent, which, from long usage, were viewed with reverence; and, by their impression upon the senses and imagination, tended not only to fix the attention, but to affect the heart, and to warm it with devout and worthy sentiments. The Puritans (for by that name such as scrupled to comply with what was enjoined by the act of

[c] 1 Eliz. c. 2.

uniformity were distinguished) maintained, that the rites in question were inventions of men, superadded to the simple and reasonable service required in the word of God; that from the excessive solicitude with which conformity to them was exacted, the multitude must conceive such an high opinion of their value and importance, as might induce them to rest satisfied with the mere form and shadow of religion, and to imagine that external observances may compensate for the want of inward sanctity; that ceremonies which had been long employed by a society manifestly corrupt, to veil its own defects, and to seduce and fascinate mankind, ought now to be rejected as relics of superstition unworthy of a place in a church which gloried in the name of *Reformed.*

Intolerant spirit of the church.

THE people, to whom in every religious controversy the final appeal is made, listened to the arguments of the contending parties; and it is obvious to which of them, men who had lately beheld the superstitious spirit of popery, and felt its persecuting rage, would lend the most favourable ear. The desire of a farther separation from the church of Rome spread wide through the nation. The preachers who contended for this, and who refused to wear the surplice, and other vestments peculiar to

BOOK X.

their order, or to observe the ceremonies enjoined by law, were followed and admired, while the ministry of the zealous advocate for conformity was deserted, and their persons often exposed to insult. For some time the non-conformists were connived at; but as their number and boldness increased, the interposition both of spiritual and civil authority was deemed necessary in order to check their progress. To the disgrace of Christians, the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment, as well as the charity and mutual forbearance suitable to the mild spirit of the religion which they professed, were in that age little understood. Not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself in the sense now affixed to it, was then unknown. Every church claimed a right to employ the hand of power for the protection of truth and the extirpation of error. The laws of her kingdom armed Elizabeth with ample authority for this purpose, and she was abundantly disposed to exercise it with full vigour. Many of the most eminent among the Puritan clergy were deprived of their benefices, others were imprisoned, several were fined, and some put to death. But persecution, as usually happens, instead of extinguishing, inflamed their zeal to such a height, that the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law was deemed insufficient

to suppress it, and a new tribunal was established under the title of the *high commission for ecclesiastical affairs*, whose powers and mode of procedure were hardly less odious or less hostile to the principles of justice than those of the Spanish inquisition. Several attempts were made in the House of Commons to check these arbitrary proceedings, and to moderate the rage of persecution; but the Queen always imposed silence upon those who presumed to deliver any opinion with respect to a matter appertaining solely to her prerogative, in a tone as imperious and arrogant as was ever used by Henry VIII. in addressing his parliaments; and so tamely obsequious were the guardians of the people's rights that they not only obeyed those unconstitutional commands, but consented to an act, by which every person who should absent himself from church during a month was subjected to punishment by fine and imprisonment; and if after conviction he did not within three months renounce his erroneous opinions and conform to the laws, he was then obliged to abjure the realm; but if he either refused to comply with this condition, or returned from banishment, he should be put to death as a felon without benefit of clergy.[f]

[f] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

BOOK X.

Entire separation of the Puritans from the church.

By this iniquitous statute, equally repugnant to ideas of civil and of religious liberty, the Puritans were cut off from any hope of obtaining either reformation in the church or indulgence to themselves. Exasperated by this rigorous treatment, their antipathy to the established religion increased, and, with the progress natural to violent passions, carried them far beyond what was their original aim. The first Puritans did not entertain any scruples with respect to the lawfulness of episcopal government, and seem to have been very unwilling to withdraw from communion with the church of which they were members. But when they were thrown out of her bosom, and constrained to hold separate assemblies for the worship of God, their followers no longer viewed a society by which they were oppressed with reverence or affection. Her government, her discipline, her ritual, were examined with minute attention. Every error was pointed out, and every defect magnified. The more boldly any teacher inveighed against the corruptions of the church, he was listened to with greater approbation; and the farther he urged his disciples to depart from such an impure community, the more eagerly did they follow him. By degrees, ideas of ecclesiastical policy, altogether repugnant to those of the

established church, gained footing in the nation. The more sober and learned Puritans inclined to that form which is known by the name of Presbyterian. Such as were more thoroughly possessed with the spirit of innovation, however much they might approve the equality of pastors which that system establishes, reprobated the authority which it vests in various judicatories, descending from one to another in regular subordination, as inconsistent with Christian liberty. - BOOK X.

THESE wild notions floated for some time in the minds of the people, and amused them with many ideal schemes of ecclesiastical policy. At length Robert Brown, a popular declaimer in high estimation, reduced them to a system, on which he modelled his own congregation. He taught, that the church of England was corrupt, and antichristian, its ministers not lawfully ordained, its ordinances and sacraments invalid; and therefore he prohibited his people to hold communion with it in any religious function. He maintained, that a society of Christians, uniting together to worship God, constituted a church possessed of complete jurisdiction in the conduct of its own affairs, independent of any other society, and unaccountable to any superior, that the priesthood was neither a distinct order in the Brownists. 1580.

BOOK X.

church, nor conferred an indelible character; but that every man qualified to teach might be set apart for that office by the election of the brethren, and by imposition of their hands; in like manner, by their authority, he might be discharged from that function, and reduced to the rank of a private christian; that every person, when admitted a member of a church, ought to make a public confession of his faith, and give evidence of his being in a state of favour with God; and that all the affairs of a church were to be regulated by the decision of the majority of its members.

Brownists take refuge in Holland.

THIS democratical form of government, which abolished all distinction of ranks in the church, and conferred an equal portion of power on every individual, accorded so perfectly with the levelling genius of fanaticism, that it was fondly adopted by many as a complete model of christian policy. From their founder, they were denominated Brownists; and as their tenets were more hostile to the established religion than those of other separatists, the fiercest storm of persecution fell upon their heads. Many of them were fined or imprisoned, and some put to death; and though Brown, with a levity of which there are few examples among enthusiasts whose vanity has been soothed by being recognised

as heads of a party, abandoned his disciples, conformed to the established religion, and accepted of a benefice in the church, the sect not only subsisted, but continued to spread, especially among persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. But as all their motions were carefully watched, both by the ecclesiastical and civil courts, which, as often as they were detected, punished them with the utmost rigor, a body of them, weary of living in a state of continual danger and alarm, fled to Holland, and settled in Leyden, under the care of Mr. John Robinson, their pastor. There they resided for several years unmolested and obscure. But many of their aged members dying, and some of the younger marrying into Dutch families, while their church received no increase, either by recruits from England, or by proselytes gained in the country, they began to be afraid, that all their high attainments in spiritual knowledge would be lost, and that perfect fabric of policy which they had erected, would be dissolved, and consigned to oblivion, if they remained longer in a strange land.

Remove from thence to America.

DEEPLY affected with the prospect of an event, which to them appeared fatal to the interests of truth, they thought themselves called, in order to prevent it, to remove to

BOOK X.

some other place, where they might profess and propagate their opinions with greater success. America, in which their countrymen were at that time intent on planting colonies, presented itself to their thoughts. They flattered themselves with hopes of being permitted, in that remote region, to follow their own ideas in religion without disturbance. The dangers and hardships to which all former emigrants to America had been exposed, did not deter them. "They were well weaned (according to their own description) from the delicate milk of their mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. They were knit together in a strict and sacred band, by virtue of which they held themselves obliged to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. It was not with them, as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause
1618. to wish themselves at home again."[s] The first object of their solicitude was to secure the free exercise of their religion. For this purpose they applied to the King; and though James refused to give them any explicit assurance of toleration, they seem to have obtained from him some promise of his connivance, as long as they continued to

[s] Hutchinson's Hist. of Massach. p. 4.

demean themselves quietly. So eager were they to accomplish their favourite scheme, that, relying on this precarious security, they began to negotiate with the Virginian company for a tract of land within the limits of their patent. This they easily procured from a society desirous of encouraging migration to a vast country, of which they had hitherto occupied only a few spots. BOOK X.

1620. Sept. 6. First attempt to settle at Massachusets Bay.

After the utmost efforts, their preparations fell far short of what was requisite for beginning the settlement of a new colony. A hundred and twenty persons sailed from England in a single ship on this arduous undertaking. The place of their destination was Hudson's River, where they intended to settle; but their captain having been bribed, as is said, by the Dutch, who had then formed a scheme, which they afterwards accomplished, of planting a colony there, carried them so far towards the north, that the first land in America which they made was Cape Cod. They were now not only beyond the precincts of the territory which had been granted to them, but beyond those of the company from which they derived their right. The season, however, was so far advanced, and sickness raged so violently among men unaccustomed to the hardships of

Nov. 11.

BOOK X.

a long voyage, that it became necessary to take up their abode there. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place now belonging to the province of Massachusets Bay, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, probably out of respect to that company, within whose jurisdiction they now found themselves situated.[h]

Settle at New Plymouth.

No season could be more unfavourable to settlement than that in which the colony landed. The winter, which, from the predominance of cold in America, is rigorous to a degree unknown in parallel latitudes of our hemisphere, was already set in; and they were slenderly provided with what was requisite for comfortable subsistence, under a climate considerably more severe than that for which they had made preparation. Above one half of them was cut off before the return of spring, by diseases, or by famine: the survivors, instead of having leisure to attend to the supply of their own wants, were compelled to take arms against the savages in their neighbourhood. Happily for the English, a pestilence which raged in America the year before they landed, had swept off so great a number of the natives, that they

Plan of government.

[h] Hubard's Pres. State, p. 3. Cotton's Magnalia, p. 7. Hutchinson's Hist. p. 3, &c.

were quickly repulsed and humbled. The privilege of professing their own opinions, and of being governed by laws of their own framing, afforded consolation to the colonists amidst all their dangers and hardships. The constitution of their church was the same with that which they had established in Holland. Their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality among men, to which their ecclesiastical policy had accustomed them. Every free man, who was a member of the church, was admitted into the supreme legislative body. The laws of England were adopted as the basis of their jurisprudence, though with some diversity in the punishments inflicted upon crimes, borrowed from the Mosaic institutions. The executive power was vested in a governor and some assistants, who were elected annually by the members of the legislative assembly.[1] So far their institutions appear to be founded on the ordinary maxims of human prudence. But it was a favourite opinion with all the enthusiasts of that age, that the Scriptures contained a complete system, not only of spiritual instruction, but of civil wisdom and polity; and without attending to the peculiar circumstances or situation of the people whose history is there recorded, they often de-

[1] Chalmers' Annals, p. 87.

BOOK X.

duced general rules for their own conduct, from what happened among men in a very different state. Under the influence of this wild notion, the colonists of New Plymouth, in imitation of the primitive Christians, threw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, carried on every work of industry by their joint labour for public behoof.[k] But, however this resolution might evidence the sincerity of their faith, it retarded the progress of their colony. The same fatal effects flowed from this community of goods, and of labour, which had formerly been experienced in Virginia; and it soon became necessary to relinquish what was too refined to be capable of being accommodated to the affairs of men. But though they built a small town, and surrounded it with such a fence as afforded sufficient security against the assaults of Indians, the soil around it was so poor, their religious principles were so unsocial, and the supply sent them by their friends so scanty, that at the end of ten years, the number of people belonging to the settlement did not exceed three hundred.[l] During some years they appear not to have acquired right by any legal conveyance to the territory which they had occupied. At length

Community of goods.

This institution hurtful to the colony.

[k] Chalmers' Annals, p. 89. Douglas's Summary, i. p. 370.
[l] Chalmers' Annals, p. 97.

they obtained a grant of property from the council of the New Plymouth company, but were never incorporated as a body politic by royal charter.[m] Unlike all the other settlements in America, this colony must be considered merely as a voluntary association, held together by the tacit consent of its members to recognise the authority of laws, and submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates framed and chosen by themselves. In this state it remained an independent but feeble community, until it was united to its more powerful neighbour, the colony of Massachusets Bay, the origin and progress of which I now proceed to relate.

1630. This colony not incorporated by charter.

THE original company of Plymouth having done nothing effectual towards establishing any permanent settlement in America, James I., in the year one thousand six hundred and twenty, issued a new charter to the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and several other persons of distinction in his court, by which he conveyed to them a right to a territory in America, still more extensive than what had been granted to the former patentees, incorporating them as a body politic, in order to plant colonies there, with powers and

Grand council of Plymouth appointed.

[m] Chalmers' Annals, p. 97. 107.

BOOK X.

jurisdictions similar to those contained in his charters to the companies of South and North Virginia. This society was distinguished by the name of the Grand Council of Plymouth for planting and governing New England. What considerations of public utility could induce the King to commit such an undertaking to persons apparently so ill qualified for conducting it, or what prospect of private advantage prompted them to engage in it, the information we receive from contemporary writers does not enable us to determine. Certain it is, that the expectations of both were disappointed; and after many schemes and arrangements, all the attempts of the new associates towards colonisation proved unsuccessful.

Project of a new colony.

New England must have remained unoccupied, if the same causes which occasioned the emigration of the Brownists had not continued to operate. Notwithstanding the violent persecution to which Puritans of every denomination were still exposed, their number and zeal daily increased. As they now despaired of obtaining in their own country any relaxation of the penal statutes enacted against their sect, many began to turn their eyes towards some other place of retreat, where they might profess their own opinions with impunity.

From the tranquillity which their brethren had hitherto enjoyed in New Plymouth, they hoped to find this desired asylum in New England; and by the activity of Mr. White, a Nonconformist minister at Dorchester, an association was formed by several gentlemen who had imbibed puritanical notions, in order to conduct a colony thither. They purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory, extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack, to three miles south of Charles River, and in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Zealous as these proprietors were to accomplish their favourite purpose, they quickly perceived their own inability to attempt the population of such an immense region, and deemed it necessary to call in the aid of more opulent co-partners.[n] 1627. March 19.

Of these they found, without difficulty, a sufficient number, chiefly in the capital, and among persons in the commercial and other industrious walks of life, who had openly joined the sect of the Puritans, or secretly favoured their opinions. These new adventurers, with the caution natural to men conversant in business, entertained doubts concerning the propriety of founding a colony on the basis of a

[n] Neal's Hist. of New Engl. i. p. 122.

BOOK X. grant from a private company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing that society which they had in contemplation to establish. As it was only from royal authority that such powers could be derived, they applied for these; and Charles granted their request, with a facility which appears astonishing, when we consider the principles and views of the men who were suitors for the favour.

Charter to the new colony of Massachusets Bay.

TIME has been considered as the parent of political wisdom, but its instructions are communicated slowly. Although the experience of above twenty years might have taught the English the impropriety of committing the government of settlements in America to exclusive corporations resident in Europe, neither the King nor his subjects had profited so much by what passed before their eyes, as to have extended their ideas beyond those adopted by James, in his first attempts towards colonisation. The charter of Charles I. to the adventurers associated for planting the province of Massachusets Bay, was perfectly similar to those granted by his father to the two Virginian companies and to the council of Plymouth. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic, and their

right to the territory, which they had purchased from the council at Plymouth, being confirmed by the King, they were empowered to dispose of the lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The first governor of the company, and his assistants, were named by the crown: the right of electing their successors was vested in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and assistants; that of legislation to the body of proprietors, who might make statutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and enforce the observance of them, according to the course of other corporations within the realm. Their lands were to be held by the same liberal tenure with those granted to the Virginian company. They obtained the same temporary exemption from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported; and notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects.°

THE manifest object of this charter was to confer on the adventurers who undertook to

° Hutchinson's Collect. of Orig. Papers, p. 1, &c.

BOOK X. people the territory on Massachusets Bay, all the corporate rights possessed by the council of Plymouth, from which they had purchased it, and to form them into a public body, resembling other great trading companies, which the spirit of monarchy had at that time multiplied in the kingdom. The King seems not to have foreseen, or to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure; for so far was he from alluring emigrants, by any hopes of indulgence with respect to their religious scruples, or from promising any relaxation from the rigour of the penal statutes against Non-conformists, that he expressly provides for having the oath of supremacy administered to every person who shall pass to the colony, or inhabit there.[p]

[p] Hutchinson's Collect. of Orig. Papers, p. 18. — It is surprising that Mr. Neal, an industrious and generally well-informed writer, should affirm, that "free liberty of conscience was granted by this charter to all who should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way" Hist. of New Engl. i. 124. This he repeats in his History of the Puritans, ii. 210.; and subsequent historians have copied him implicitly. No permission of that kind, however, is contained in the charter; and such an indulgence would have been inconsistent with all the maxims of Charles and his ministers during the course of his reign. At the time when Charles issued the charter, the influence of Laud over his councils was at its height, the Puritans were prosecuted with the greatest severity, and the kingdom was ruled entirely by prerogative. This is not an æra in which

1629. Settlement in consequence of this charter.

But whatever were the intentions of the King, the adventurers kept their own object steadily in view. Soon after their powers to establish a colony were rendered complete by the royal charter, they fitted out five ships for New England; on board of which embarked upwards of three hundred passengers, with a view of settling there. These were mostly zealous Puritans, whose chief inducement to relinquish their native land was the hope of enjoying religious liberty in a country far removed from the seat of government and the oppression of ecclesiastical courts. Some eminent nonconformist ministers accompanied them as their spiritual instructors. On their arrival in New England, they found the wretched remainder of a small body of emigrants, who had left England the preceding year, under the conduct of Endicott, a deep enthusiast, whom, prior to their incorporation by the royal charter, the associates had appointed deputy-governor. They were settled at a place called by the Indians Naunekeag, and to which Endicott, with the fond affectation of fanatics of that age to employ the language

June 29.

one can expect to meet with concessions in favour of Nonconformists, from a prince of Charles's character and principles.

BOOK X.

and appellations of Scripture in the affairs of common life, had given the name of Salem.

Begin with establishing a church.

THE emigrants under Endicott, and such as now joined them, coincided perfectly in religious principles. They were Puritans of the strictest form; and to men of this character the institution of a church was naturally of such interesting concern as to take place of every other object. In this first transaction, they displayed at once the extent of the reformation at which they aimed. Without regard to the sentiments of that monarch under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of Independent. They united together in religious society,

Aug 6. by a solemn covenant with God and with one another, and in strict conformity, as they imagined, to the rules of Scripture. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they set apart for their respective offices, by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of

faith drawn up by their teacher, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as Christians; and it was declared that no person should hereafter be received into communion until he gave satisfaction to the church with respect to his faith and sanctity. The form of public worship which they instituted was without a liturgy, disencumbered of every superfluous ceremony, and reduced to the lowest standard of Calvinistic simplicity.[q]

Intolerance of the new church.

It was with the utmost complacence that men, passionately attached to their own notions, and who had long been restrained from avowing them, employed themselves in framing this model of a pure church. But in the first moment that they began to taste of Christian liberty themselves, they forgot that other men had an equal title to enjoy it. Some of their number, retaining an high veneration for the ritual of the English church, were so much offended at the total abolition of it, that they withdrew from communion with the newly instituted church, and assembled separately for the worship of God. With an inconsistency of which there are such flagrant instances among Christians of every denomi-

[q] Math. Magnal. p. 18. Neal's Hist. of N. Engl. i. 126. Chalmers, p. 143.

BOOK X.

ation that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any sect, the very men who had themselves fled from persecution became persecutors; and had recourse, in order to enforce their own opinions, to the same unhallowed weapons, against the employment of which they had lately remonstrated with so much violence. Endicott called the two chief male-contents before him; and though they were men of note, and among the number of original patentees, he expelled them from the society, and sent them home in the ships which were returning to England.[r] The colonists were now united in sentiments; but, on the approach of winter, they suffered so much from diseases, which carried off almost one half of their number, that they made little progress in occupying the country.

Emigrations from England increased by the intolerance of Laud.

MEANWHILE the directors of the company in England exerted their utmost endeavours in order to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of new settlers; and as the intolerant spirit of Laud exacted conformity to all the injunctions of the church with greater rigour than ever, the condition of such as had any scruples with respect to this became so

[r] Mather, p. 19. Neal, p. 129.

intolerable, that many accepted of their invitation to a secure retreat in New England. Several of these were persons of greater opulence and of better condition than any who had hitherto migrated to that country. But as they intended to employ their fortunes, as well as to hazard their persons in establishing a permanent colony there, and foresaw many inconveniences from their subjection to laws made without their own consent, and framed by a society which must always be imperfectly acquainted with their situation, they insisted that the corporate powers of the company should be transferred from England to America, and the government of the colony be vested entirely in those who, by settling in the latter country, became members of it.[s] The company had already expended considerable sums in prosecuting the design of their institution, without having received almost any return, and had no prospect of gain, or even of reimbursement, but what was too remote and uncertain to be suitable to the ideas of merchants, the most numerous class of its members. They hesitated, however, with respect to the legality of granting the demand of the intended emigrants. But such was their eagerness to be disengaged from an unpromis-

[s] Hutchinson's Coll. of Papers, p. 25.

BOOK X.

ing adventure, that, "by general consent it was determined, that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England."[t] To the members of the corporation who chose to remain at home was reserved a share in the trading stock and profits of the company during seven years.

Charter of the company transferred to the colonists.

In this singular transaction, to which there is nothing similar in the history of English colonisation, two circumstances merit particular attention: one is the power of the company to make this transference; the other is, the silent acquiescence with which the King permitted it to take place. If the validity of this determination of the company be tried by the charter which constituted it a body politic, and conveyed to it all the corporate powers with which it was invested, it is evident that it could neither exercise those powers in any mode different from what the charter prescribed, nor alienate them in such a manner as to convert the jurisdiction of a trading corporation in England into a provincial government in America. But from the first institution of the company of Massachusets Bay, its members seem to have been animated with a spirit of

[t] Mather, p. 20. Hutchinson's Hist. p. 12. Chalmers, p. 150.

innovation in civil policy, as well as in religion; and by the habit of rejecting established usages in the one, they were prepared for deviating from them in the other. They had applied for a royal charter, in order to give legal effect to their operations in England, as acts of a body politic; but the persons whom they sent out to America, as soon as they landed there, considered themselves as individuals, united together by voluntary association, possessing the natural right of men who form a society, to adopt what mode of government, and to enact what laws they deemed most conducive to general felicity. Upon this principle of being entitled to judge and to decide for themselves, they established their church in Salem, without regard to the institutions of the church of England, of which the charter supposed them to be members, and bound of consequence to conformity with its ritual. Suitably to the same ideas, we shall observe them framing all their future plans of civil and ecclesiastical policy. The King, though abundantly vigilant in observing and checking slighter encroachments on his prerogative, was either so much occupied at that time with other cares, occasioned by his fatal breach with his parliament, that he could not attend to the proceedings of the company; or he was so much pleased with the prospect of removing a

BOOK X. body of turbulent subjects to a distant country, where they might be useful, and could not prove dangerous, that he was disposed to connive at the irregularity of a measure which facilitated their departure.

Colony extended.

WITHOUT interruption from the crown, the adventurers proceeded to carry their scheme into execution. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen; in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. With such zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that in the course of the ensuing year seventeen ships sailed for New England, and aboard these above fifteen hundred persons, among whom were several of respectable families, and in easy circumstances. On their arrival in New England, many were so ill satisfied with the situation of Salem, that they explored the country in quest of some better station; and settling in different places around the Bay, according to their various fancies, laid the foundations of Boston, Charles-town, Dorchester, Roxborough, and other towns, which have since become considerable in the province. In each of these a church was esta-

blished on the same model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making provision for their subsistence during winter, occupied them entirely during some months. But in the first general court, their disposition to consider themselves as members of an independent society, unconfined by the regulations in their charter, began to appear. The election of the governor and deputy-governor, the appointment of all other officers, and even the power of making laws, all which were granted by the charter to the freemen, were taken from them, and vested in the council of assistants. But the aristocratical spirit of this resolution did not accord with the ideas of equality prevalent among the people, who had been surprised into an approbation of it. Next year the freemen, whose numbers had been greatly augmented by the admission of new members, resumed their former rights.

Oct. 19.

1631.

None but members of the church admitted as freemen.

But, at the same, time they ventured to deviate from the charter in a matter of greater moment, which deeply affected all the future operations of the colony, and contributed greatly to form that peculiar character by which the people of New England have been distinguished. A law was passed, declaring that none shall hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government,

BOOK X.

or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as have been received into the church as members.[u] By this resolution, every person who did not hold the favourite opinions concerning the doctrines of religion, the discipline of the church, or the rites of worship, was at once cast out of the society, and stripped of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable of all civil rights was made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. As in examining into these, they proceeded not by any known or established rules, but exercised a discretionary judgment, the clergy rose gradually to a degree of influence and authority, from which the levelling spirit of the independent church-policy was calculated to exclude them. As by their determination the political condition of every citizen was fixed, all paid court to men possessed of such an important power, by assuming those austere and sanctimonious manners which were known to be the most certain recommendation to

Pernicious consequences of this regulation.

[u] Hutchinson, p. 26. Chalmers, p. 153.

their favour. In consequence of this ascendant, which was acquired chiefly by the wildest enthusiasts among the clergy, their notions became a standard to which all studied to conform, and the singularities characteristic of the Puritans in that age increased, of which many remarkable instances will occur in the course of our narrative. BOOK X.

Though a considerable number of planters was cut off by the diseases prevalent in a country so imperfectly cultivated by its original inhabitants as to be still almost one continued forest, and several, discouraged by the hardships to which they were exposed, returned to England, recruits sufficient to replace them arrived. At the same time the small-pox, a distemper fatal to the people of the New World, swept away such multitudes of the natives that some whole tribes disappeared; and Heaven, by thus evacuating a country in which the English might settle without molestation, was supposed to declare its intention that they should occupy it. Indian territories depopulated by the small-pox. 1632.

As several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, such was the eagerness of the English to take possession of them, that their settlements became more numerous and more widely dispersed than suited the condition of Settlements of the colonists extended.

BOOK X.

an infant colony. This led to an innovation which totally altered the nature and constitution of the government. When a general court was to be held in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, as the charter prescribed, elected representatives in their different districts, authorising them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide concerning every point that fell under the cognizance of the general court. Whether this measure was suggested by some designing leaders, or whether they found it prudent to soothe the people by complying with their inclination, is uncertain. The representatives were admitted, and considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony. In assertion of their own rights they enacted, that no law should be passed, no tax should be imposed, and no public officer should be appointed, but in the general assembly. The pretexts for making this new arrangement were plausible. The number of freemen was greatly increased; many resided at a distance from the places where the supreme courts were held; personal attendance became inconvenient; the form of government in their own country had rendered familiar the idea of delegating their

1634. Freemen meet by representatives.

Extent of political liberty assumed by the assembly.

rights, and committing the guardianship of their liberties to representatives of their own choice, and the experience of ages had taught them that this important trust might with safety be lodged in their hands. Thus did the company of Massachusets Bay, in less than six years, from its incorporation by the King, mature and perfect a scheme which, I have already observed, some of its more artful and aspiring leaders seem to have had in view when the association for peopling New England was first formed. The colony must henceforward be considered, not as a corporation whose powers were defined, and its mode of procedure regulated by its charter, but as a society, which, having acquired or assumed political liberty, had, by its own voluntary deed, adopted a constitution or government framed on the model of that in England.

Spirit of fanaticism increases.

BUT however liberal their system of civil policy might be, as their religious opinions were no longer under any restraint of authority, the spirit of fanaticism continued to spread, and became every day wilder and more extravagant. Williams, a minister of Salem, in high estimation, having conceived an antipathy to the cross of St. George in the standard of England, declaimed against it with so much vehemence, as a relic of superstition and ido-

BOOK X.

latry which ought not to be retained among a people so pure and sanctified, that Endicott, one of the members of the court of assistants, in a transport of zeal, publicly cut out the cross from the ensign displayed before the governor's gate. This frivolous matter interested and divided the colony. Some of the militia scrupled to follow colours in which there was a cross, lest they should do honour to an idol: others refused to serve under a mutilated banner, lest they should be suspected of having renounced their allegiance to the crown of England. After a long controversy, carried on by both parties with that heat and zeal which in trivial disputes supply the want of argument, the contest was terminated by a compromise. The cross was retained in the ensigns of forts and ships, but erased from the colours of the militia. Williams, on account of this, as well as of some other doctrines deemed unsound, was banished out of the colony.[v]

New settlers.

THE prosperous state of New England was now so highly extolled, and the simple frame of its ecclesiastic policy was so much admired by all whose affections were estranged from the

[v] Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. p. 140, &c. Hutchinson, p. 37. Chalmers, p. 156.

church of England, that crowds of new settlers flocked thither. Among these were two persons, whose names have been rendered memorable by the appearance which they afterwards made on a more conspicuous theatre: one was Hugh Peters, the enthusiastic and intriguing chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other Mr. Henry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, a privy counsellor, high in office, and of great credit with the King; a young man of a noble family, animated with such zeal for pure religion and such love of liberty as induced him to relinquish all his hopes in England, and to settle in a colony hitherto no farther advanced in improvement than barely to afford subsistence to its members, was received with the fondest admiration. His mortified appearance, his demure look, and rigid manners, carried even beyond the standard of preciseness in that society which he joined, seemed to indicate a man of high spiritual attainments, while his abilities and address in business pointed him out as worthy of the highest station in the community. With universal consent, and high expectations of advantage from his administration, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival. But as the affairs of an infant colony afforded not objects adequate to the talents of Vane, his busy pragmatical spirit

BOOK X.

1635.

1636.

BOOK X.

occupied itself with theological subtilties and speculations unworthy of his attention. These were excited by a woman, whose reveries produced such effects both within the colony and beyond its precincts, that, frivolous as they may now appear, they must be mentioned as an occurrence of importance in its history.

Antinomian sect.

It was the custom at that time in New England, among the chief men in every congregation, to meet once a week, in order to repeat the sermons which they had heard, and to hold religious conference with respect to the doctrine contained in them. Mrs. Hutchinson, whose husband was among the most respectable members of the colony, regretting that persons of her sex were excluded from the benefit of those meetings, assembled statedly in her house a number of women, who employed themselves in pious exercises similar to those of the men. At first she satisfied herself with repeating what she could recollect of the discourses delivered by their teachers. She began afterwards to add illustrations, and at length proceeded to censure some of the clergy as unsound, and to vent opinions and fancies of her own. These were all founded on the system which is denominated Antinomian by divines, and tinged with the deepest

enthusiasm. She taught, that sanctity of life is no evidence of justification, or of a state of favour with God; and that such as inculcated the necessity of manifesting the reality of our faith by obedience, preached only a covenant of works; she contended that the Spirit of God dwelt personally in good men, and by inward revelations and impressions they received the fullest discoveries of the divine will. The fluency and confidence with which she delivered these notions gained her many admirers and proselytes, not only among the vulgar, but among the principal inhabitants. The whole colony was interested and agitated. Vane, whose sagacity and acuteness seemed to forsake him whenever they were turned towards religion, espoused and defended her wildest tenets. Many conferences were held, days of fasting and humiliation were appointed, a general synod was called, and, after dissentions so violent as threatened the dissolution of the colony, Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and she herself banished. Several of her disciples withdrew from the province of their own accord. Vane quitted America in disgust, unlamented even by those who had lately admired him; some of whom now regarded him as a mere visionary, and others as one of those dark turbulent spirits

1637. Their doctrines condemned by a general synod.

BOOK X.

doomed to embroil every society into which they enter.[w]

The sectaries settle in Providence and Rhode Island.

HOWEVER much these theological contests might disquiet the colony of Massachusets Bay, they contributed to the more speedy population of America. When Williams was banished from Salem in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, such was the attachment of his hearers to a pastor whose piety they revered, that a good number of them voluntarily accompanied him in his exile. They directed their march towards the south; and having purchased from the natives a considerable tract of land, to which Williams gave the name of Providence, they settled there. They were joined soon after by some of those to whom the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson gave disgust; and by a transaction with the Indians they obtained a right to a fertile island in Naraganset Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Island. Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and the guide of the colony which he had planted. His spirit differed from that of the Puritans in Massachusets; it was mild and tolerating; and

[w] Mather, book vii. c. 3. Hutchinson, p. 53. 74. Neal, p. 1. 144. 165, &c. Chalmers, p. 163.

having ventured himself to reject established opinions, he endeavoured to secure the same liberty to other men, by maintaining, that the exercise of private judgment was a natural and sacred right; that the civil magistrate has no compulsive jurisdiction in the concerns of religion; that the punishment of any person on account of his opinions was an encroachment on conscience, and an act of persecution.[x] These humane principles he instilled into his followers; and all who felt or dreaded oppression in other settlements resorted to a community in which universal toleration was known to be a fundamental maxim. In the plantations of Providence and Rhode Island, political union was established by voluntary association, and the equality of condition among the members, as well as their religious opinions; their form of government was purely democratical, the supreme power being lodged in the freemen personally assembled. In this state they remained until they were incorporated by charter.[y]

Their moderation.

To similar causes the colony of Connecticut is indebted for its origin. The rivalship between

Colony of Connecticut.

[x] Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. p. 141.

[y] Hutchinson, p. 38. Neal, ii. 142. Dougl. Sum. ii. p. 76, &c. Chalmers, ch. ii.

BOOK X.

Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, two favourite ministers in the settlement of Massachusets Bay, disposed the latter, who was least successful in this contest for fame and power, to wish for some settlement at a distance from a competitor by whom his reputation was eclipsed. A good number of those who had imbibed Mrs. Hutchinson's notions, and were offended at such as combated them, offered to accompany him. Having employed proper persons to explore the country, they pitched upon the west side of the great river Connecticut as the most inviting station; and in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, about an hundred persons, with their wives and families, after a fatiguing march of many days through woods and swamps, arrived there, and laid the foundation of the towns of Hartford, Springfield, and Weatherfield. This settlement was attended with peculiar irregularities. Part of the district now occupied lay beyond the limits of the territory granted to the colony of Massachusets Bay, and yet the emigrants took a commission from the governor and court of assistants, empowering them to exercise jurisdiction in that country. The Dutch from Manhados or New York, having discovered the river Connecticut, and established some trading houses upon it, had acquired all the right that prior possession confers. Lord

Say and Sele and Lord Brook, the heads of two illustrious families, were so much alarmed at the arbitrary measures of Charles I., both in his civil and ecclesiastical administration, that they took a resolution, not unbecoming young men of noble birth and liberal sentiments, of retiring to the New World, in order to enjoy such a form of religion as they approved of, and those liberties which they deemed essential to the well-being of society. They, too, fixed on the banks of the Connecticut as their place of settlement, and had taken possession, by building a fort at the mouth of the river, which, from their united names, was called Say Brook. The emigrants from Massachusets, without regarding either the defects in their own right or the pretensions of other claimants, kept possession, and proceeded with vigour to clear and cultivate the country. By degrees they got rid of every competitor. The Dutch, recently settled in America, and too feeble to engage in a war, peaceably withdrew from Connecticut. Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook made over to the colony whatever title they might have to any lands in that region. Society was established by a voluntary compact of the freemen; and though they soon disclaimed all dependence on the colony of Massachusets Bay, they retained such veneration for its legislative wisdom as to adopt a form of government

BOOK X. nearly resembling its institutions, with respect both to civil and ecclesiastical policy. At a subsequent period, the colony of Connecticut was likewise incorporated by royal charter.[z]

Of New Hampshire and Main.

THE history of the first attempts to people the provinces of New Hampshire and Main, which form the fourth and most extensive division in New England, is obscure and perplexed, by the interfering claims of various proprietors. The company of Plymouth had inconsiderately parcelled out the northern part of the territory contained in its grant among different persons: of these only Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason seem to have had any serious intention to occupy the lands allotted to them. Their efforts to accomplish this were meritorious and persevering, but unsuccessful. The expense of settling colonies in an uncultivated country must necessarily be great and immediate; the prospect of a return is often uncertain and always remote. The funds of two private adventurers were not adequate to such an undertaking. Nor did the planters whom they sent out possess that principle of enthusiasm, which animated their neighbours of Massachusets with

[z] Hutchinson, p. 44, &c. Neal, i. 147. Douglas, ii. 158, &c. Chalmers' Annals, ch. 12.

vigour, to struggle through all the hardships and dangers to which society, in its infancy, is exposed in a savage land. Gorges and Mason, it is probable, must have abandoned their design, if, from the same motives that settlements had been made in Rhode Island and Connecticut, colonists had not unexpectedly migrated into New Hampshire and Main. Mr. Wheelwright, a minister of some note, nearly related to Mrs. Hutchinson, and one of her most fervent admirers and partisans, had on this account been banished from the province of Massachusets Bay.[a] In quest of a new station, he took a course opposite to the other exiles; and advancing towards the north, founded the town of Exeter, on a small river flowing into Piskataqua Bay. His followers, few in number, but firmly united, were of such rigid principles, that even the churches of Massachusets did not appear to them sufficiently pure. From time to time they received some recruits, whom love of novelty, or dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical institutions of the other colonies, prompted to join them. Their plantations were widely dispersed, but the country was thinly peopled, and its political state extremely unsettled. The colony of Massachusets Bay claimed jurisdiction over them, as

[a] Hutchinson, p. 70.

BOOK X.

occupying lands situated within the limits of their grant. Gorges and Mason asserted the rights conveyed to them as proprietors by their charter. In several districts the planters, without regarding the pretensions of either party, governed themselves by maxims and laws copied from those of their brethren in the adjacent colonies.[b] The first reduction of the political constitution in the provinces of New Hampshire and Main into a regular and permanent form, was subsequent to the Revolution.

By extending their settlements, the English became exposed to new danger. The tribes of Indians around Massachusets Bay were feeble and unwarlike; yet from regard to justice, as well as motives of prudence, the first colonists were studious to obtain the consent of the natives before they ventured to occupy any of their lands; and though in such transactions the consideration given was often very inadequate to the value of the territory acquired, it was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the proprietors. The English took quiet possession of the lands thus conveyed to them, and no open hostility broke out between them and the ancient possessors. But the colonies of

The farther encroachments of the English resisted by the natives.

[b] Hutchinson, p. 103, &c. 176. Douglas's Sum. ii. 22, &c. Chalmers' Annals, ch. 17.

Providence and Connecticut soon found that they were surrounded by more powerful and martial nations. Among these the most considerable were the Naragansets and Pequods; the former seated on the Bay which bears their name, and the latter occupying the territory which stretches from the river Pequod along the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors, not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They foresaw, not only that the extermination of the Indian race must be the consequence of permitting the English to spread over the continent of America, but that if measures were not speedily concerted to prevent it, the calamity would be unavoidable. With this view they applied to the Naragansets, requesting them to forget ancient animosities for a moment, and to co-operate with them in expelling a common enemy who threatened both with destruction. They represented that, when those strangers first landed, the object of their visit was not suspected, and no proper precautions were taken to check their progress; that now, by sending out colonies in one year towards three different quarters, their intentions were manifest, and the people of America must abandon their native seats to make way for unjust intruders.

BOOK X.

But the Naragansets and Pequods, like most of the contiguous tribes in America, were rivals, and there subsisted between them an hereditary and implacable enmity. Revenge is the darling passion of savages; in order to secure the indulgence of which there is no present advantage that they will not sacrifice, and no future consequence which they do not totally disregard. The Naragansets, instead of closing with the prudent proposal of their neighbours, discovered their hostile intentions to the governor of Massachusets Bay; and, eager to lay hold on such a favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their ancient foes, entered into an alliance with the English against them. The Pequods, more exasperated than discouraged by the imprudence and treachery of their countrymen, took the field, and carried on the war in the usual mode of Americans. They surprised stragglers, and scalped them; they plundered and burnt remote settlements; they attacked Fort Say Brook without success, though garrisoned only by twenty men; and when the English began to act offensively, they retired to fastnesses which they deemed inaccessible. The different colonies had agreed to unite against the common enemy, each furnishing a quota of men in proportion to its numbers. The troops of Connecticut, which lay most exposed to danger, were soon assembled.

War with the Pequod tribes.

The march of those from Massachusets, which formed the most considerable body, was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were mustered previous to their departure, it was found that some of the officers, as well as of the private soldiers, were still under a covenant of works; and that the blessing of God could not be implored or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the unclean, and to render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity.[c]

Purification of the army.

Meanwhile the Connecticut troops, reinforced by a small detachment from Say Brook, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. They were posted on a rising ground, in the middle of a swamp towards the head of the river Mistick, which they had surrounded with palisadoes, the best defence that their slender skill in the art of fortification had discovered. Though they knew that the English were in motion, yet, with the usual improvidence and security of savages, they took no

Defeat of the Indians.

[c] Neal, i. 168.

BOOK X.

May 20.

measures either to observe their progress, or to guard against being surprised themselves. The enemy, unperceived, reached the palisadoes; and if a dog had not given the alarm by barking, the Indians must have been massacred without resistance. In a moment, however, they started to arms, and raising the war-cry, prepared to repel the assailants. But at that early period of their intercourse with the Europeans, the Americans were little acquainted with the use of gunpowder, and dreaded its effects extremely. While some of the English galled them with an incessant fire through the intervals between the palisadoes, others forced their way by the entries into the fort, filled only with branches of trees; and setting fire to the huts which were covered with reeds, the confusion and terror quickly became general. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavouring to escape, were either slain by the English, or falling into the hands of their Indian allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. After the junction of the troops from Massachusets, the English resolved to pursue their victory; and hunting the Indians from one place of retreat to another, some subsequent encounters were hardly less fatal to them than the action on the Mistick. In less than

three months the tribe of Pequods was extirpated: a few miserable fugitives, who took refuge among the neighbouring Indians, being incorporated by them, lost their name as a distinct people. In this first essay of their arms, the colonists of New England seem to have been conducted by skilful and enterprising officers, and displayed both courage and perseverance as soldiers. But they stained their laurels by the use which they made of victory. Instead of treating the Pequods as an independent people, who made a gallant effort to defend the property, the rights, and the freedom of their nation, they retaliated upon them all the barbarities of American war. Some they massacred in cold blood, others they gave up to be tortured by their Indian allies, a considerable number they sold as slaves in Bermudas, the rest were reduced to servitude among themselves.[d]

Cruelties exercised against the Indians.

But reprehensible as this conduct of the English must be deemed, their vigorous efforts in this decisive campaign filled all the surrounding tribes of Indians with such an high opinion of their valour as secured a long tranquillity to

Emigrations from England.

[d] Hutchinson, p. 58. 76, &c. Mather, Magnalia, b. vii. ch. 6. Hubbard's State of N. Eng. p. 5. 116, &c.

BOOK X.

all their settlements. At the same time the violence of administration in England continued to increase their population and strength, by forcing many respectable subjects to tear themselves from all the tender connections that bind men to their native country, and to fly for refuge to a region of the New World, which hitherto presented to them nothing that could allure them thither but exemption from oppression. The number of those emigrants drew the attention of government, and appeared so formidable, that a proclamation was issued, prohibiting masters of ships from carrying passengers to New England without special permission. On many occasions this injunction was eluded or disregarded. Fatally for the King, it operated with full effect in one instance. Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and some other persons whose principles and views coincided with theirs, impatient to enjoy those civil and religious liberties which they struggled in vain to obtain in Great Britain, hired some ships to carry them and their attendants to New England. By order of council, an embargo was laid on these when on the point of sailing; and Charles, far from suspecting that the future revolutions in his kingdoms were to be excited and directed by persons in such an

Prohibited by royal proclamation.

humble sphere of life, forcibly detained the men destined to overturn his throne, and to terminate his days by a violent death.[c]

But, in spite of all the efforts of government to check this spirit of migration, the measures of the King and his ministers were considered by a great body of the people as so hostile to those rights which they deemed most valuable, that in the course of the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight, about three thousand persons embarked for New England, choosing rather to expose themselves to all the consequences of disregarding the royal proclamation, than to remain longer under oppression. Exasperated at this contempt of his authority, Charles had recourse to a violent but effectual mode of accomplishing what he had in view. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the corporation of Massachusets Bay. The colonists had conformed so little to the terms of their charter, that judgment was given against them without difficulty. They were found to have forfeited all their rights as a corporation, which of course returned to the crown, and Charles began to take measures for new-modelling the

Colony of Massachusets Bay sued at law, and found to have forfeited its rights

[c] Mather, Magnalia, b. i. ch. 5. p. 23. Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. i. 151. Chalmers' Annals, i. 155. 160. &c.

BOOK X.

political frame of the colony, and vesting the administration of its affairs in other hands. But his plans were never carried into execution. In every corner of his dominions, the storm now began to gather, which soon burst out with such fatal violence, that Charles, during the remainder of his unfortunate reign occupied with domestic and more interesting cares, had not leisure to bestow any attention upon a remote and inconsiderable province.[f]

On the meeting of the Long Parliament, such a revolution took place in England, that all the motives for migrating to the New World ceased. The maxims of the Puritans with respect to the government both of church and state became predominant in the nation, and were enforced by the hand of power. Their oppressors were humbled; that perfect system of reformed polity, which had long been the object of their admiration and desire, was established by law; and amidst the intrigues and conflicts of an obstinate civil war, turbulent and aspiring spirits found such full occupation, that they had no inducement to quit a busy theatre, on which they had risen to act a most conspicuous part. From the year one thousand six hundred and twenty,

[f] Hutchinson, p. 86. 502, &c. Chalmers' Annals, i. 161.

State of the colonies at this period.

when the first feeble colony was conducted to New England by the Brownists, to the year one thousand six hundred and forty, it has been computed, that twenty-one thousand two hundred British subjects had settled there. The money expended by various adventurers during that period, in fitting out ships, in purchasing stock, and transporting settlers, amounted, on a moderate calculation, nearly to two hundred thousand pounds[g]: a vast sum in that age, and which no principles, inferior in force to those wherewith the Puritans were animated, could have persuaded men to lay out, on the uncertain prospect of obtaining an establishment in a remote uncultivated region, which, from its situation and climate, could allure them with no hope but that of finding subsistence and enjoying freedom. For some years, even subsistence was procured with difficulty; and it was towards the close of the period to which our narrative is arrived, before the product of the settlement yielded the planters any return for their stock. About that time they began to export corn in small quantities to the West-Indies, and made some feeble attempts to extend the fishery, and to open the trade in lumber, which have

[g] Mather, b. i. ch. 4. p. 17. ch. 5. p. 23. Hutchinson, p. 193. Chalmers' Annals, p. 165.

BOOK X.

since proved the staple articles of commerce in the colony.[h] Since the year one thousand six hundred and forty, the number of people with which New England has recruited the population of the parent-state, is supposed at least to equal what may have been drained from it by occasional migrations thither.

But though the sudden change of system in Great Britain stopped entirely the influx of settlers into New England, the principles of the colonists coincided so perfectly with those of the popular leaders in parliament, that they were soon distinguished by peculiar marks of their brotherly affection. By a vote of the House of Commons in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-two, the people in all the different plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother-country, until the House shall take farther order to the contrary. This was afterwards confirmed by the authority of both Houses. Encouraged by such an extraordinary privilege, industry made rapid progress in all the districts of New England, and population in-

Exemption from certain duties granted to the colonies.

1646.

[h] Hutchinson, p. 91, 92.

creased along with it. In return for those favours, the colonists applauded the measures of parliament, celebrated its generous efforts to vindicate the rights and liberties of the nation, prayed for the success of its arms, and framed regulations in order to prevent any exertion in favour of the King on the other side of the Atlantic.[1]

RELYING on the indulgent partiality with which all their proceedings were viewed by men thus closely united with them in sentiments and wishes, the people of New England ventured on a measure, which not only increased their security and power, but may be regarded as a considerable step towards independence. Under the impression or pretext of the danger to which they were exposed from the surrounding tribes of Indians, the four colonies of Massachusets, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive; an idea familiar to several leading men in the colonies, as it was framed in imitation of the famous bond of union among the Dutch provinces, in whose dominions the Brownists had long resided. It was stipulated, that the confederates should henceforth be distinguished

1643. May 19. Confederacy of the New England states.

[1] Hutchinson, p. 114. App. 517. Chalmers' Annals, i. 174.176.

BOOK X. by the name of the United Colonies of New England; that each colony shall remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; and that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates shall furnish his quota of men, provisions, and money, at a rate to be fixed from time to time, in proportion to the number of people in each settlement; that an assembly composed of two commissioners from each colony shall be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide in all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination, in which six of their number concur, shall be binding on the whole.[k] In this transaction the colonies of New England seem to have considered themselves as independent societies, possessing all the rights of sovereignty, and free from the control of any superior power. The governing party in England, occupied with affairs of more urgent concern, and no wise disposed to observe the conduct of their brethren in America with any jealous attention, suffered the measure to pass without animadversion.

IMBOLDENED by this connivance, the spirit of independence gathered strength, and soon

[k] Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. i. 202, &c. Hutchinson, p. 124. Chalmers' Ann. p. 177.

displayed itself more openly: some persons of note in the colony of Massachusets, averse to the system of ecclesiastical polity established there, and preferring to it the government and discipline of the churches of England or Scotland, having remonstrated to the general court against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as Christians, because they could not join as members with any of the congregational churches, petitioned that they might no longer be bound to obey laws to which they had not assented, nor be subjected to taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. Their demands were not only rejected, but they were imprisoned and fined as disturbers of the public peace; and when they appointed some of their number to lay their grievances before parliament, the annual court, in order to prevent this appeal to the supreme power, attempted first to seize their papers, and then to obstruct their embarkation for England. But though neither of these could be accomplished, such was the address and influence of the Colonies' agents in England, that no inquiry seems to have been made into this transaction.[1] This was followed by an in-

1646.

Petition of the Dissenters rejected.

[1] Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. i. 121. Hutchinson's Hist. 145, &c. Collect. 188, &c. Chalm. Ann. 179. Mather, Magnal. b. iii. ch. i. p. 30.

BOOK X.

dication, still less ambiguous, of the aspi
spirit prevalent among the people of Ma
chusets. Under every form of governm
the right of coining money has been conside
as a prerogative peculiar to sovereignty,
which no subordinate member in any stat
entitled to claim. Regardless of this e
blished maxim, the general court ordere
coinage of silver money at Boston, stam
with the name of the colony, and a tree a
apt symbol of its progressive vigour.[m] E
this usurpation escaped without notice.
Independents, having now humbled all r
sects, engrossed the whole direction of aff
in Great Britain; and long accustomed to
mire the government of New England, fra
agreeably to those principles which they
adopted as the most perfect model of civil
ecclesiastical polity, they were unwilling
stain its reputation, by censuring any par
its conduct.

1652. Right of coining assumed by the colonists.

Cromwell patronises the New England colonies.

WHEN Cromwell usurped the supreme pow
the colonies of New England continued to st
as high in his estimation. As he had deeply
bibed all the fanatical notions of the Indepe
ents, and was perpetually surrounded by

[m] Hutchinson's Hist. 177, 178. Chalmers' An
p. 181.

most eminent and artful teachers of that sect, he kept a constant correspondence with the leading men in the American settlements, who seem to have looked up to him as a zealous patron.[n] He in return considered them as his most devoted adherents, attached to him no less by affection than by principle. He soon gave a striking proof of this. On the conquest of Jamaica, he formed a scheme for the security and improvement of the acquisition made by his victorious arms, suited to the ardour of an impetuous spirit that delighted in accomplishing its ends by extraordinary means. He proposed to transport the people of New England to that island, and employed every argument calculated to make impression upon them, in order to obtain their consent. He endeavoured to rouse their religious zeal by representing what a fatal blow it would be to the man of sin, if a colony of the faithful were settled in the midst of his territories in the New World. He allured them with prospects of immense wealth in a fertile region, which would reward the industry of those who cultivated it, with all the precious productions of the torrid zone, and expressed his fervent wish that they might take possession of it, in order

Proposes to transport the colonists to Jamaica.

[n] Hutchinson, App. 520, &c. Collect. p. 233.

BOOK X.

to fulfil God's promise of making his people the head and not the tail. He assured them of being supported by the whole force of his authority, and of vesting all the powers of government entirely in their hands. But by this time the colonists were attached to a country in which they had resided for many years, and where, though they did not attain opulence, they enjoyed the comforts of life in great abundance; and they dreaded so much the noxious climate of the West-Indies, which had proved fatal to a great number of the English who first settled in Jamaica, that they declined, though in the most respectful terms, closing with the Protector's proposition.[o]

Colonists decline accepting this offer.

[o] Hutchinson, p. 190, &c. Chalmers, p. 188.

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 5.

P. TORRIBIO de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten causes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of these are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the small-pox. This disease was first brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a negro-slave who attended Narvaez in his expedition against Cortes. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces visited with this distemper died. To this mortality, occasioned by the small-pox, Torquemada adds the destructive effects of two contagious distempers which raged in the year 1545 and 1576. In the former, 800,000, in the latter, above two millions perished, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The small-pox was not introduced into Peru for several years after the invasion of the Spaniards, but there, too, that distemper proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed or died of famine in their war

with the Spaniards, particularly during the siege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one side or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something similar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provision made for their subsistence, and subjected to all the rigour of cold in those elevated regions. 7. The immense labour of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with such precipitate ardour, as destroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to servitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the silver mines. These, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. The nature of the labour to which they were subjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate, and scarcity of food, were so fatal, that Torribio affirms the country round several of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures and other voracious birds hovered about for their prey, that the sun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, destroyed many of the natives whom they compelled to

serve them as *Tamemes*, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they suffered in similar services, and how fast they were wasted by them. Torribio, MS. Corita, in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illustrates and confirms several of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. MS. *penes me.*

NOTE II. p. 6.

Even Montesquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the passion of that great man for system sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

NOTE III. p. 6.

A strong proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the Queen have been adopted into the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *Of the good treatment of the Indians.* Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE IV. p. 9.

In the seventh *Title* of the first book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend them from oppression either with respect to their persons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but the ecclesiastics of America actually exercise it.

Innumerable proofs of this might be produced from Spanish authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not disposed to ascribe any merit to the popish clergy, to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142. 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an English merchant, who resided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the same favourable account of the popish clergy. Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only bishops, but other ecclesiastics, are empowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indian is deprived of his just liberty and rights; Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14: and thus were constituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spanish ecclesiastics refused to grant absolution to such of their countrymen as possessed *Encomiendas*, and considered the Indians as slaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil Teatro Eccles. i. 157.

NOTE V. p. 10.

According to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 1000 families; and he mentions it only as one of the largest Indian towns in America, p. 104.

NOTE VI. p. 10.

It is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the state of population in those kingdoms of Europe where the police is most perfect, and where science has made the greatest progress. In Spanish America, where knowledge is still in its infancy, and few men have leisure to engage in researches merely speculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the several provinces in America, to make an actual survey of the people under their jurisdiction, and to transmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In consequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, Viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Jos. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez to execute that commission in New Spain. From the reports of the magistrates in the several districts, as well as from his own observations, and long acquaintance with most of the provinces, Villa Segnor published the result of his inquiries in his *Teatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceses, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has published an account of five only, viz. the archbishopric of Mexico, the bishoprics of Puebla de los

Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The bishoprics of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his survey of the extensive diocese of Nova Galicia, the situation of the different Indian villages is described, but he specifies the number of people only in a small part of it. The Indians of that extensive province, in which the Spanish dominion is imperfectly established, are not registered with the same accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual state of population in the five dioceses above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, in the dioceses of

	Families.
Mexico — — — —	105,202
Los Angeles — — —	30,600
Mechoacan — — —	30,840
Oaxaca — — — —	7,296
Nova Galicia — — —	16,770
	190,708
At the rate of five to a family, the total number is — — —	953,540
Indian families in the diocese of Mexico	119,511
Los Angeles — — —	88,240
Mechoacan — — —	36,196
Oaxaca — — — —	44,222
Nova Galicia — — —	6,222
	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or register, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceses of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards, &c. seems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor observes in general terms, that several Spaniards, negroes, and people of mixed race, reside there, without specifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for these, and for all who reside in the four dioceses omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of those of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In some places Villa Segnor distinguishes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, and marks their number separately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion observable in those places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the state of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifest that the number of negroes and persons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

Defective as this account may be, I have not been able to procure such intelligence concerning the num-

ber of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally satisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the viceroyalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the King. As all females, and persons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought by that account to be 2,449,120. MS. *penes me.*

I SHALL mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at least form a guess concerning, the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada exported to Peru on each new publication, is, 1,171,953; to New Spain, 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race; so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount by this mode of computation to at least three millions.

THE number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate but popular notion entertained in Great Britain concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. It is remarkable that Torquemada, who wrote his *Monarquia Indiana* about the year 1612, reckons the inhabitants of Mexico at that time to be only 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians. Lib. iii. c. 26. Puebla

de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000, exclusive of Indians. Id. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. De Cosme Bueno Descr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potosi contains 25,000. Bueno 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a second class are still more numerous. The cities in the most thriving settlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with these.

Such are the detached accounts of the number of people in several towns, which I found scattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the public, both to gratify curiosity, and to rectify the mistaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Francisco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Besides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* 29 *curas* or parishes established in the principal villages, each of which has smaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of these are mostly Indians and mestizos. St. Juan de Pasto has between 6 and 8,000 inhabitants, besides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguelde Ibarra, 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The district of Havala between 18 and 20,000 people. The district of Tacuna between 10 and 12,000. The district of Ambato between 8 and 10,000, besides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and nine depending villages. The district of Chimbo

between 6 and 8000. The city of Guayaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The district of Atuasi between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and 9 populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population, though slender if we consider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spanish America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton stuffs, and coarse woollen cloths, are made there in such quantities as to be sufficient not only for the consumption of the province, but to furnish a considerable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be considered as the cause or the effect of its populousness. But among the ostentatious inhabitants of the New World, the passion for every thing that comes from Europe is so violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are so much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE VII. p. 16.

THESE are established at the following places:—St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firmè, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Francisco de Quito,

St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of these are subjected several large provinces, and some so far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their jurisdiction. The Spanish writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience, but they include that of Manila in the Philippine islands.

NOTE VIII. p. 25.

On account of the distance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of such bulk as wine and oil across the isthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in those provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives: but they are strictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to any of the provinces on the Pacific Ocean, which are in such a situation as to receive them from Spain. Recop. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15—18.

NOTE IX. p. 27.

This computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the discovery of America. Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the spirit of a malecontent, disposed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is considerably too low.

NOTE X. p. 28.

My information with respect to the division and transmission of property in the Spanish colonies is imperfect. The Spanish authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended sufficiently to the effects of their own institutions and laws. Solorzano de Jure Ind. (vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16.) explains in some measure the introduction of the tenure of *Mayorasgo*, and mentions some of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a singular consequence of it. He observes, that in some of the best situations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houses once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayorasgo*, and cannot be alienated, that desolation and those ruins become perpetual. Teatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE XI. p. 31.

There is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclesiastic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas* which recommend the conferring places of trust indiscriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5. 6. But notwithstanding such repeated recommendations, preferment in almost every line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author last quoted. From the discovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and sixty-nine bishops, or archbishops, have been appointed to

the different dioceses in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40. This predilection for Europeans seems still to continue. By a royal mandate, issued in 1776, the chapter of the cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European ecclesiastics of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to supply vacant benefices. MS. *penem e.*

NOTE XII. p. 37.

MODERATE as this tribute may appear, such is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Paroches de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE XIII. p. 38.

IN New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country previous to the discovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE XIV. p. 40.

D. ANT. ULLOA contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and several of the Indians, when the legal term of

their service expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten.* p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, says he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest of America, though neither the soil nor climate be so favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert, Collect. In another memorial presented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzales de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE XV. p. 40.

As labour of this kind cannot be prescribed with legal accuracy, the tasks seem to be in a great measure arbitrary, and like the services exacted by feudal superiors, *in vinea, prato, aut messe,* from their vassals, are extremely burdensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE XVI. p. 41.

THE turn of service known in Peru by the name of *Mita*, is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No person is called to serve at a greater distance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is less oppressive to the Indians than that established in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE XVII. p. 44.

THE strongest proof of this may be deduced from the laws themselves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuses, we may form an idea of the number of abuses that prevail. Though the laws have wisely provided that no Indian shall be obliged to serve in any mine at a greater distance from his place of residence than thirty miles; we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano presented to the King, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to serve in mines at the distance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are situated in parts of the country so barren, and so distant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the necessity of procuring labourers to work there has obliged the Spanish monarchs to dispense with their own regulations in several instances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to resort to those mines. Es-

calona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But in justice to them it should be observed that they have been studious to alleviate this oppression as much as possible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method in order to induce the Indians to settle in some part of the country adjacent to the Mines. Id. ibid.

NOTE XVIII. p. 49.

TORQUEMADA, after a long enumeration which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monasteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monasteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa Segnor, Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning those for nuns, he says, that a small town might be peopled out of them, the number of persons shut up there is so great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III., in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, observes, that the number of convents in Lima was so great, that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The first monastery in New Spain was founded A.D. 1525, four years only after the conquest. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

ACCORDING to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of

Jesuits was expelled from all the Spanish dominions, the colleges, *professed* houses, and residencies, which it possessed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito sixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru seventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all a hundred and twelve. Collection General de Providencias hasta aqui tomadas sobre estranamento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jesuits, priests, and novices in allthese amounted to 2245. MS. *penes me.*

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico presented a petition to the King, praying that no new monastery might be founded, and that the revenues of those already established might be circumscribed, otherwise the religious houses would soon acquire the property of the whole country. The petitioners request likewise, that the bishops might be laid under restrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above six thousand clergymen without any living. Id. p.16. These abuses must have been enormous indeed, when the superstition of American Spaniards was shocked, and induced to remonstrate against them.

NOTE XIX. p. 53.

This description of the manners of the Spanish clergy, I should not have ventured to give upon the testimony of Protestant authors alone, as they may be suspected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any Protestant to view the interior state of Spanish Ame-

rica, describes the corruption of the church which he had forsaken with so much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I should have distrusted his evidence, though it communicates some very curious and striking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of ecclesiastics in America at a very early period after their settlement there. Hist. lib. ii. c.19, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent observer, and zealous for his own religion, paints the dissolute manners of the Spanish ecclesiastics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in stronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumstances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reason to believe that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are still extremely indecent. Acosta himself acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the consequence of permitting monks to forsake the retirement and discipline of the cloister, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian parishes. De procur. Ind. Salute, lib. iv. c.13, &c. He mentions particularly those vices of which I have taken notice, and considers the temptations to them as so formidable, that he leans to the opinion of those who hold that the regular clergy should not be employed as parish-priests. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when set free from the restraint of monastic discipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought against them was not destitute of truth. In the French colonies the state of the regular clergy is nearly the same as in the Spanish settlements,

and the same consequences have followed. M. Biet, superior of the secular priests in Cayenne, enquires with no less appearance of piety than of candour, into the causes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the jurisdiction and censures of their diocesans; to the temptations to which they are exposed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable that all the authors, who censure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with the greatest severity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the society, which takes such full possession of every member of the order, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintained a most irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34. The same praise is likewise due to the bishops and most of the dignified clergy. Frez. Ibid.

A VOLUME of the Gazette de Mexico for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a striking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the spirit of low illiberal superstition prevalent in Spanish America. From the newspapers of any nation, one may learn what are the objects which chiefly engross its attention, and which appear to it most interesting. The Gazette of Mexico is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, autos de fè, &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence.

From the titles of new books, which are regularly inserted in this Gazette, it appears that two-thirds of them are treatises of scholastic theology, or of monkish devotion.

NOTE XX. p. 54.

Solorzano, after mentioning the corrupt morals of some of the regular clergy, with that cautious reserve which became a Spanish layman, in touching on a subject so delicate, gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmness, against committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the testimony of several respectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A striking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Esquilachè to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were presented to the King by the procurators for the monastic orders, and replies were made to these in name of the secular clergy. An eager and even rancorous spirit is manifest on both sides, in the conduct of this dispute.

NOTE XXI. p. 60.

Not only the native Indians, but the *mestizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the priesthood, and refused admission

into any religious order. But by a law issued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain such mestizos born in lawful wedlock, as they should find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monastery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard seems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a representation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he issued a new edict, enforcing the observation of it, and professing his desire to have all his subjects, Indians and mestizos as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges. Such, however, was the aversion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this seems to have produced little effect; for, in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But so unsurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the present King has been constrained to enforce the former edicts anew, by a law published Sept. 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *penès me.*

M. Clavigero has contradicted what I have related concerning the ecclesiastical state of the Indians, particularly their exclusion from the sacrament of the eucharist, and from holy orders, either as seculars or regulars, in such a manner as cannot fail to make a deep impression. He, from his own knowledge, asserts, "that in New Spain not only are Indians permitted to partake of the sacrament of the altar, but that Indian priests are so numerous that they may be counted by hundreds; and among these have been

many hundreds of rectors, canons, and doctors, and, as report goes, even a very learned bishop. At present there are many priests, and not a few rectors, among whom there have been three or four our own pupils." Vol. II. 348, &c. I owe it therefore as a duty to the public, as well as to myself, to consider each of these points with care, and to explain the reasons which induced me to adopt the opinion which I have published.

I KNEW that in the Christian church there is no distinction of persons, but that men of every nation, who embrace the religion of Jesus, are equally entitled to every Christian privilege which they are qualified to receive. I knew likewise that an opinion prevailed, not only among most of the Spanish laity settled in America, but among "many ecclesiastics, (I use the words of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. c.15.) that the Indians were not perfect or rational men, and were not possessed of such capacity as qualified them to partake of the sacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion." It was against this opinion that Las Casas contended with the laudable zeal which I have described in Books III. and VI. But as the Bishop of Darien, Doctor Sepulvida, and other respectable ecclesiastics, vigorously supported the common opinion concerning the incapacity of the Indians, it became necessary, in order to determine the point, that the authority of the Holy See should be interposed; and accordingly Paul III. issued a bull, A.D. 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of those who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beasts, should be reduced to servitude, he declares,

that they were really men, and as such were capable of embracing the Christian religion, and participating of all its blessings. My account of this bull, notwithstanding the cavils of M. Clavigero, must appear just to every person who takes the trouble of perusing it; and my account is the same with that adopted by Torquemada, lib. xvi. c. 25., and by Garcia, Orig. p. 311. But even after this decision, so low did the Spaniards residing in America rate the capacity of the natives, that the first council of Lima (I call it by that name on the authority of the best Spanish authors) discountenanced the admission of Indians to the holy communion. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. In New Spain the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament was still more explicit. Ibid. After two centuries have elapsed, and notwithstanding all the improvement that the Indians may be supposed to have derived from their intercourse with the Spaniards during that period, we are informed by D. Ant. Ulloa, that in Peru, where, as will appear in the sequel of this note, they are supposed to be better instructed than in New Spain, their ignorance is so prodigious that very few are permitted to communicate, as being altogether destitute of the requisite capacity. Voy. I. 341, &c. Solorz. Polit. Ind. I. 203.

With respect to the exclusion of Indians from the priesthood, either as seculars or regulars, we may observe that while it continued to be the common opinion that the natives of America, on account of their incapacity, should not be permitted to partake of the holy sacrament, we cannot suppose that they would be clothed with that sacred character which

entitled them to consecrate and to dispense it. When Torquemada composed his *Monarquia Indiana*, it was almost a century after the conquest of New Spain; and yet in his time it was still the general practice to exclude Indians from holy orders. Of this we have the most satisfying evidence. Torquemada having celebrated the virtues and graces of the Indians at great length, and with all the complacency of a missionary, he starts as an objection to what he had asserted, "If the Indians really possess all the excellent qualities which you have described, why are they not permitted to assume the religious habit? Why are they not ordained priests and bishops, as the Jewish and Gentile converts were in the primitive church, especially as they might be employed with such superior advantage to other persons in the instruction of their countrymen?" Lib. xvii. c. 13.

In answer to this objection, which establishes, in the most unequivocal manner, what was the general practice at that period, Torquemada observes, that although by their natural dispositions the Indians are well fitted for a subordinate situation, they are destitute of all the qualities requisite in any station of dignity and authority; and that they are in general so addicted to drunkenness, that upon the slightest temptation, one cannot promise on their behaving with the decency suitable to the clerical character. The propriety of excluding them from it, on these accounts, was, he observed, so well justified by experience, that when a foreigner of great erudition, who came from Spain, condemned the practice of the Mexican church, he was convinced of his mistake in a public dispu-

tation with the learned and most religious Father D. Juan de Gaona, and his retraction is still extant. Torquemada indeed acknowledges, as M. Clavigero observes with a degree of exultation, that in his time some Indians had been admitted into monasteries; but with the art of a disputant, he forgets to mention that Torquemada specifies only two examples of this, and takes notice that in both instances those Indians had been admitted by mistake. Relying upon the authority of Torquemada with regard to New Spain, and of Ulloa with regard to Peru, and considering the humiliating depression of the Indians in all the Spanish settlements, I concluded that they were not admitted into the ecclesiastical order, which is held in the highest veneration all over the New World.

But when M. Clavigero, upon his own knowledge, asserted facts so repugnant to the conclusion I had formed, I began to distrust it, and to wish for farther information. In order to obtain this, I applied to a Spanish nobleman, high in office, and eminent for his abilities, who, on different occasions, has permitted me to have the honour and benefit of corresponding with him. I have been favoured with the following answer: "What you have written concerning the admission of Indians into holy orders, or into monasteries, in Book VIII., especially as it is explained and limited in Note LXXXVIII. of the quarto edition, is in general accurate, and conformable to the authorities which you quote. And although the congregation of the counsel resolved and declared, Feb. 13. A. D. 1682, that the circumstance of being an Indian,

a mulatto, or mestizo, did not disqualify any person from being admitted into holy orders, if he was possessed of what is required by the canons to entitle him to that privilege; this only proves such ordinations to be legal and valid, (of which Solorzano and the Spanish lawyers and historians quoted by him, Pol. Ind. lib. ii. c. 29. were persuaded,) but it neither proves the propriety of admitting Indians into holy orders, nor what was then the common practice, with respect to this; but, on the contrary, it shows that there was some doubt concerning the ordaining of Indians, and some repugnance to it.

"SINCE that time, there have been some examples of admitting Indians into holy orders. We have now at Madrid an aged priest, a native of Tlascala. His name is D. Juan Cerilo de Castilla Aquihual Catehutle, descended of a cazique converted to Christianity soon after the conquest. He studied the ecclesiastical sciences in a seminary of Puebla de los Angeles. He was a candidate, nevertheless, for ten years, and it required much interest before Bishop Abren would consent to ordain him. This ecclesiastic is a man of unexceptionable character, modest, self-denied, and with a competent knowledge of what relates to his clerical functions. He came to Madrid above thirty-four years ago, with the sole view of soliciting admission for the Indians into the colleges and seminaries in New Spain, that if, after being well instructed and tried, they should find an inclination to enter into the ecclesiastical state, they might embrace it, and perform its functions with the greatest benefit to their countrymen, whom they could address in their native

tongue. He has obtained various regulations favourable to his scheme, particularly that the first college which became vacant in consequence of the exclusion of the Jesuits, should be set apart for this purpose. But neither these regulations, nor any similar ones inserted in the laws of the Indies, have produced any effect, on account of objections and representations from the greater part of persons of chief consideration employed in New Spain. Whether their opposition be well founded or not is a problem difficult to resolve, and towards the solution of which several distinctions and modifications are requisite.

"ACCORDING to the accounts of this ecclesiastic, and the information of other persons who have resided in the Spanish dominions in America, you may rest assured that in the kingdom Tierra Fermè no such thing is known as either an Indian secular priest or monk; and that in New Spain there are very few ecclesiastics of Indian race. In Peru, perhaps, the number may be greater, as in that country there are more Indians who possess the means of acquiring such a learned education as is necessary for persons who aspire to the clerical character."

NOTE XXII. p. 64.

UZTARIZ, an accurate and cautious calculator, seems to admit, that the quantity of silver which does not pay duty may be stated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potosi that paid the King's fifth. Dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano asserts likewise,

that the quantity of silver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly stamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. Jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE XXIII. p. 68.

When the mines of Potosi were discovered in the year 1545, the veins were so near the surface, that the ore was easily extracted, and so rich that it was refined with little trouble and at a small expense, merely by the action of fire. The simple mode of refining by fusion alone continued until the year 1574, when the use of mercury in refining silver, as well as gold, was discovered. Those mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now sunk so deep, that the expense of extracting the ore is greatly increased. Besides this, the richness of the ore, contrary to what happens in most other mines, has become less as the vein continued to dip. The vein has likewise diminished to such a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards should persist in working it. Other rich mines have been successively discovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreased so much, while the expense of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the King from a *fifth* to a *tenth*. All the quicksilver used in Peru is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabelica, discovered in the year 1563. The crown has reserved the property of this mine to itself; and the persons who purchase the quicksilver pay not only the price of it, but likewise a *fifth*, as a duty to the king. But, in

the year 1761, this duty on quicksilver was abolished, on account of the increase of expense in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii.—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. In consequence of this abolition of the *fifth*, and some subsequent abatements of price, which became necessary on account of the increasing expense of working mines, quicksilver, which was formerly sold at eighty pesos the quintal, is now delivered by the King at the rate of sixty pesos. Campomanes. Educ. Popul. ii. 132. note. The duty on gold is reduced to a *twentieth*, or five per cent. Any of my readers, who are desirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate description of the ancient method by Acosta. Lib. iv. c. 1—13. And of their more recent improvements in the metallurgic art, by Gamboa Comment. a las ordenanz. de Minas, c. 22.

NOTE XXIV. p. 72.

MANY remarkable proofs occur of the advanced state of industry in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was considerable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The causes of this I have explained, Hist. of Cha. V. i. 158. Wherever cities are populous, that species of industry which is peculiar to them increases; artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to these is manifest, from a singular fact. In the year 1545, while

Spain continued to depend on its own industry for the supply of its colonies, so much work was bespoke from the manufacturers, that it was supposed they could hardly finish it in less than six years, Campom. i. 406. Such a demand must have put much industry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in silk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 persons had occupation in carrying on these manufactures. Campon. ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have the satisfaction to find my ideas concerning the early commercial intercourse between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illustrated by D. Bernardo Ward, of the Junta de Comercio at Madrid, in his *Proyicto Economico*, Part. ii. c. 1. "Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II.," says he, "the manufacturers of Spain and of the Low Countries subject to her dominion were in a most flourishing state. Those of France and England were in their infancy. The republic of the United Provinces did not then exist. No European power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could supply her settlements there with the productions of her own soil, the fabrics wrought by the hands of her own artisans, and all she received in return for these,

belonged to herself alone. Then the exclusion of foreign manufactures was proper, because it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impose what restraints she deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and successive revolutions had occasioned an alteration in all those circumstances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreign fabrics, the original maxims and regulations of Spain should have been accommodated to the change in her situation. The policy that was wise at one period became absurd in the other."

NOTE XXV. p. 82.

No bale of goods is ever opened, no chest of treasure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the persons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined silver that was brought from Peru to Porto-bello in the year 1654 was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of base metal. The Spanish merchants, with sentiments suitable to their usual integrity, sustained the whole loss, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retablis. de Manuf. &c. liv. ii. p. 102.

NOTE XXVI. p. 87.

MANY striking proofs occur of the scarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immense sums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, Moncada asserts, that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of *pesos*, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Restaur de Espagna, disc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who published his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain an hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonstrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III., relates, as a certain proof how scarce cash had become, that persons who lent money received a third part of the sum which they advanced as interest and premium. *Educ. Popul.* i. 417.

NOTE XXVII. p. 91.

THE account of the mode in which the factors of the South-Sea company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Assiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, president of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionysio was a person of such respectable character

for probity and discernment, that his testimony in any point would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this case, as he was an eye-witness of the transactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation, being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, discover a portion of the acrimonious spirit natural at that juncture. His detail of facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practised in the transactions of the annual ships, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonourable arts of their factors and agents. The company itself sustained a considerable loss by the Assiento trade. Many of its servants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE XXVIII. p. 99.

SEVERAL facts with respect to the institution, the progress, and the effects of this company, are curious, and but little known to English readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coast, and is one of the

most fertile in America; it was so much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the establishment of the company, only five ships sailed from Spain to that province; and during sixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a single ship arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Campania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain must have been supplied almost entirely with a large quantity of cacao, which it consumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company, neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. Since the commercial operations of the company, begun in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increased amazingly. During thirty years subsequent to 1701, the number of *fanegas* of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas was 643,215. During eighteen years subsequent to 1731, the number of *fanegas* imported was 869,247; and if we suppose the importation to be continued in the same proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *fanegas*, which is an increase of 805,531 *fanegas*. Id. p. 148. During eight years subsequent to 1756, there has been imported into Spain by the company 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Campania, in 1765, its trade seems to be on the increase. During five years subsequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 *fanegas* of cacao into Spain, 36,208 *arrobas* of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 pesos in specie. Campomanes, ii. 162. The

last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But, besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raised in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tithes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. Notic. p. 69. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the *fanega* to forty. Id. 61. Since the publication of the first edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extensive provinces situated on the banks of the Orinoco, the islands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caraccas had liberty of trade by their former charters. Real Cedula, Nov. 19. 1776. But I have likewise been informed, that the institution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have ascribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppressive spirit of monopoly is still conspicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be necessary to enter into minute details, which are not suited to the nature of this work.

NOTE XXIX. p. 106.

THIS first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects so remarkable, as to merit some farther illustration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andalusia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Aragon; Santander, for Castile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias. Append. ii. à la Educ. Popul. p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the custom-house at the Havannah were computed to be 104,208 pesos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have arisen from 8000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola, from 2500 to 5600. In Porto Rico, from 1200 to 7000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pesos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE XXX. p. 114.

THE two treatises of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, *Fiscal del real consejo y Supremo*, (an office in rank and power nearly similar to that of Attorney-General in England,) and Director of the Royal Academy of History, the one entitled, Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular; the other, Discurso sobre la Education Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento; the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a striking proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestic as well as foreign, is examined in the course of these works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations most eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their enquiries with a more thorough knowledge of those various subjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm researches of philosophy with the ardent zeal of a public-spirited citizen. These books are in high estimation among the Spaniards; and it is a decisive evidence of the progress of their own ideas, that they are capable of relishing an author whose sentiments are so liberal.

NOTE XXXI. p. 119.

THE galeon employed in that trade, instead of the six hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15., is commonly from twelve hundred to two thousand tons burden. The ship from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anson, instead of the 500,000 pesos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 pesos, besides uncoined silver equal in value to 43,611 pesos more. Anson's Voyage, 384.

NOTE XXXII. p. 122.

THE price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different persons. Those in the lowest order who are servants or slaves, pay two reals of plate, or one shilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and those in public office, or who hold encomiendas, sixteen reals. Solorz. de Jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an English merchant who resided long in the Spanish settlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then sold for four reals at the lowest. Hakluyt, iii. 461. The price seems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in the last *Predicacion* will appear from the ensuing table, which will give some idea of the proportional numbers of the different classes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were issued for New Spain—

Bulls	at 10 pesos each	4
	at 2 pesos each	22,601
	at 1 peso each	164,220
	at 2 reals each	2,462,500
		2,649,325

For Peru—

	at 16 pesos 4½ reals each	3
	at 3 pesos 3 reals each	14,202
	at 1 peso 5½ reals	78,822
	at 4 reals	410,325
	at 3 reals	668,601
		1,171,953

NOTE XXXIII. p. 123.

As Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information contained in his Theatro Americano, published in Mexico A. D. 1746, was accomptant-general in one of the most considerable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had access to proper information, his testimony with respect to this point merits great credit. No such accurate detail of the Spanish revenues in any part of America has hitherto been published in the English language; and the particulars of it may appear curious and interesting to some of my readers.

From the bull of Cruzado, published every two years, there arises an annual revenue in pesos,	150,000
From the duty on silver - -	700,000
From the duty on gold - -	60,000
From tax on cards - - -	70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink used by the Indians - - - -	161,000
From tax on stamped paper -	41,000
From ditto on ice - - -	15,522
From ditto on leather - - -	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder - -	71,550
From ditto on salt - - -	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechochan -	1,000
From ditto on alum - - -	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos . -	21,100
From the half of ecclesiastical annats -	49,000
From royal ninths of bishopricks, &c. -	68,800
From the tribute of Indians - -	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on sale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifasgo, custom-house	373,333
From the mint - - - -	357,500
	3,552,680

This sum amounts to 819,161*l.* sterling; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the sale of 5000 quintals of quicksilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the King's account, and what accrues from the *Averia*, and some other taxes which Villa Segnor does not estimate, the public revenue in New Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c.

According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines amounts at a medium to eight millions of pesos in silver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. Id. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the course of the history; some, which there was no occasion of mentioning, require a particular illustration. The right to the *tithes* in the New World is vested in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: one fourth is allotted to the bishop of the diocese, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these, under the denomination of *los dos Novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and constitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other seven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and support of churches, and other pious uses. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley. 23, &c. Avendano Thesaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

THE *Alcavala* is a duty levied by an excise on the sale of goods. In Spain it amounts to ten per cent. In America to four percent. Solorzano. Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

THE *Almajorifasgo*, or custom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

The *Averia*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ships sailing to and from America, was first

imposed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South-Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. Avendano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley. 43, 44.

I HAVE not been able to procure any accurate detail of the several branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuscript, containing a state of that viceroyalty in all its departments, presented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes states his accounts, amounted in ducats at 4s. 11d. to - - - - - 2,372,768

Expenses of government - -	1,242,992
Net free revenue	1,129,776
The total in sterling money -	£583,303
Expenses of government - -	305,568
Net free revenue	277,735

BUT several articles appear to be omitted in this computation, such as the duty on stamped paper, leather, ecclesiastical annats, &c., so that the revenue of Peru may be well supposed equal to that of Mexico.

IN computing the expense of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a standard. There

the annual establishment for defraying the charge of administration exceeds one-half of the revenue collected, and there is no reason for supposing it to be less in New Spain.

I HAVE obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two last articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Excise) and Aduanas (Customs), &c. in pesos fuertes	2,500,000
Duties on gold and silver -	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzado - -	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians - -	2,000,000
By sale of quicksilver - -	300,000
Paper exported on the King's account, and sold in the royal warehouses - - - -	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other small duties - - -	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark - - - -	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coasting trade from province to province - - - -	500,000
Assiento of negroes - -	200,000
From the trade of *Mathe*, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolised by the Jesuits - -	500,000

From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in sterling money	£2,700,000
Deduct half, at the expense of administration, and there remains net free revenue -	£1,350,000

NOTE XXXIV. p. 123.

An author, long conversant in commercial speculation, has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone, the King receives annually, as his fifth, the sum of two millions of our money. Harris, Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines must be ten millions sterling; a sum so exorbitant, and so little corresponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded must evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of pesos, which, at four shillings and sixpence a peso, amounts to 7,425,000*l.* sterling, the King's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000*l.* But from this sum must be deducted what is lost by a fraudulent withholding of the fifth due to the crown, as well as the sum necessary for defraying the expense of administration. Educ. Popular. vol. ii. p. 131. note. Both these sums are considerable.

NOTE XXXV. p. 124.

According to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As most of the goods with which Spain supplies her colonies are foreign, such a tax upon a trade so extensive must yield a considerable revenue. Retablis. de Manuf. & du Commerce d'Esp. p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America to be about two millions and a half sterling. p. 97.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 126.

The Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of salt, and by embarking deeply in the Manilla trade, as well as in that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase from the Condé Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was successful in his suit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the usual time.

INDEX

TO THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A

ABYSSINIA, an embassy sent to that country by John II. King of Portugal, viii. 79.

Acapulco, the nature of the trade carried on from thence to Manila, xi. 118. Amount of the treasure on board the ship taken by Lord Anson, 360.

Acosta, his method of accounting for the different degrees of heat, in the old and new continents, ix. 353.

Adair, his account of the revengeful temper of the native Americans, 398.

Adanson, his justification of Hanno's account of the African seas, viii. 349.

Africa, the western coast of, first explored by order of John I. King of Portugal, viii. 58. Is discovered from Cape Non to Bojador, 60. Cape Bojador doubled, 65. The countries southward of the river Senegal discovered, 73. Cape of Good Hope seen by Bartholomew Dias, 79. Causes of the extreme heat of the climate there, ix. 11. Ignorance of the ancient astronomers concerning, viii. 350. Expedition to the coast of, xi. 131.

Agriculture, the state of, among the native Americans, ix. 117. Two principal causes of the defects of, 121.

Aguado is sent to Hispaniola, as a commissioner to inspect the conduct of Columbus, viii. 184.

Aguilar, Jerom de, is relieved from a long captivity among the Indians at Cozumel, by Fernando Cortes, ix. 258.

Albuquerque, Rodrigo, his barbarous treatment of the Indians of Hispaniola, viii. 302.

Alcavala, in the Spanish Customs, the term explained, xi. 363.

Alexander the Great, his political character, viii. 20. His motive in founding the city of Alexandria, 21. His discoveries in India, 22.

Alexander VI., Pope, grants to Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile the right of all their western discoveries, viii. 159. Sends missionaries with Columbus on his second voyage, 160.

Almagro, Diego de, his birth and character, x. 106. Associates with Pizarro and De Luque, in a voyage of discovery, 107. His unsuccessful attempts, 109. Is neglected by Pizarro in his Spanish negotiation, 119. Is reconciled to him, 121. Brings reinforcements to Pizarro at Peru, 146. Beginning of dissensions between him and Pizarro, 166. Invades Chili, 170. Is created governor of Chili, and marches to Cuzco, 176. Seizes Cuzco out of the hands of Pizarro, 178. Defeats Alvarado, and takes him prisoner, 179. Is deceived by the artful negotiations of Francis Pizarro, 182. Is defeated by the Pizarros, 186. Is taken prisoner, 187. Is tried and condemned, 189. Is put to death, 190.

Almagro, the son, affords refuge to his father's followers at Lima, x. 202. Character, *ibid.* Heads a conspiracy against Francis Pizarro, *ibid.* Pizarro assassinated, 204. Is acknowledged as his successor, 206. His precarious situation, 207. Is defeated by Vaca de Castro, 210. Is betrayed and executed, 212.

Almajorifasgo, in the Spanish American customs, the amount of, xi. 363.

Alvarado, Alonzo, is sent from Lima by Francis Pizarro, with a body of Spaniards to relieve his brothers at Cuzco, x. 179. Is taken a prisoner by Almagro, *ibid.* His escape, 182.

Alvarado, Pedro de, is left by Cortes to command at Mexico, while he marched against Narvaez, x. 6. He is besieged by the Mexicans, 15. His imprudent conduct, 16. His expedition to Quito in Peru, 162.

Amazons, a community of, said to exist in South America, by Francis Orellana, x. 199.

America, the continent of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, viii. 195. How it obtained this name, 211. Ferdinand of Castile nominates two governments in, 270. The propositions offered to the natives, 271. Ill reception of Ojeda and Nicuessa among them, 272. The South Sea discovered by Balboa, 288. Rio de Plata discovered, 300. The natives of, injuriously treated by the Spaniards, 328. The vast extent of, ix. 2. The grand objects it presented to view, 3. The circumstances of, favourable for commerce and civilisation, 5. The climates of, 7, 8. Various causes of the peculiarity of its climates, 9. Its rude and uncultivated state when first discovered, 14. Its animals, 18. Its insects and reptiles, 20. Birds, 21. General account of its soil, 23. Inquiry into the first population of, 25. Could not be peopled by civilised nations, 33. The northern extremity of, contiguous to Asia, 37. Probably peopled by Asiatics, 47. Condition and character of the native inhabitants inquired into, 50. Were more rude than the natives of any other known parts of the earth, 51. The Peruvians and Mexicans excepted, 52. The first discoverers incapable of a judicious speculative examination, 54. The various systems of philosophers respecting the natives, 57. Method observed in the present review of their bodily constitution and circumstances, 59. The venereal disease derived from this part of the world, 87. Why so thinly inhabited, 129. The country depopulated by continual wars, 171. Cause of the extreme coldness toward the southern extremity of, 359. The natural uncultivated state of the country described, 361. Bones of large extinct species of animals discovered under-ground near the banks of the Ohio, 362. Why European animals degenerate there, 364. Sup-

posed to have undergone a convulsive separation from Asia, 369. The vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America clearly ascertained, 370 — 375. Causes of the depopulation of, traced, xi. 2. This depopulation not the result of any intentional system of policy, 5. Nor the result of religion, 8. Number of Indian natives still remaining in Mexico and Peru, 9. All the Spanish dominions there subjected to two viceroys, 14. Its third vice-royalty lately established, 15. See *Mexico*, *Peru*, *Cortes*, *Pizarro*, *Cabot*, &c.

America, North, project of settling there, xi.158. First expedition to, fails, 161. A second expedition to, ends disastrously, *ibid.* Plan of settling there resumed without effect, 162. The coast of, divided into two parts, 178. Charters granted to two companies for settling colonies in, 179. Emigrations from England to,.286. See *Colonies*, *New England*, *Virginia*, &c.

Americans, native, in Spanish America, their bodily constitution and complexion, ix. 61. Their strength and abilities, 62. Their insensibility with regard to their women, 65. No deformities in their frame, 71. This circumstanceaccounted for, 72. Uniformity of their colour, 74. A peculiar race of, described, 78. The Esquimaux, 80. Patagonians, 82. The existence of Patagonian giants yet remaining to be decided, 83. Their diseases, 85. The venereal disease peculiarly theirs, 87. The powers and qualities of their minds, 88. Are only solicitous to supply immediate wants, 89. The art of computation scarcely known to them, 91. Have no abstract ideas, 93. *The North Americans much more* intelligent than those of the South, 95. *Their* aversion to labour, 97. *Their social state, 100.* Domestic union, 101. *The women, 103. Their* women not prolific, 106. *Their parental affection* and filial duty, 108. Their modes of subsistence, 111. Fishing, 112. Hunting, 114. Agriculture, 117. The various objects of their culture, *ibid.* Two principal causes of the defects of their agriculture, 121. Their want of tame animals,

122. Their want of useful metals, 125. Their political institutions, 128. Were divided into small independent communities, *ibid.* Unacquainted with the idea of property, 130. Their high sense of equality and independence, 132. Their ideas of subordination imperfect, 133. To what tribes these descriptions apply, 136. Some exceptions, 138. Florida, 139. The Natchez, *ibid.* The islands, 141. In Bogota, *ibid.* Inquiry into the causes of these irregularities, 143. Their art of war, 147. Their motives to hostility, 148. Causes of their ferocity, 149. Perpetuity of their animosities, 151. Their modes of conducting war, 152. Are not destitute of courage and fortitude, 155. Incapable of military discipline, 157. Their treatment of prisoners, 159. Their fortitude under torture, 161. Never eat human flesh but to gratify revenge, 164. How the South Americans treated their prisoners, 165. Their military education, 166. Strange method of choosing a captain among the Indians on the banks of the Orinoco, 168. Their numbers wasted by continual wars, 171. Their tribes now recruit their numbers by adopting prisoners, 172. Are never formidable in war to more polished nations, 174. Their arts, dress, and ornaments, 175, 176. Their habitations, 179. Their arms, 183. Their domestic utensils, 184. Construction of their canoes, 185. The listlessness with which they apply to labour, 187. Their religion, 189. Some tribes altogether destitute of any, 193. Remarkable diversity in their religious notions, 197. Their ideas of the immortality of the soul, 201. Their modes of burial, 202, 203. Why their physicians pretend to be conjurors, 205, 206. Their love of dancing, 209. Their immoderate passion for gaming, 213. Are extremely addicted to drunkenness, 214. Put their aged and incurable to death, 219. General estimate of their character, 221. Their intellectual powers, 222. Their political talents, 223. Powers of affection, 225. Hardness of heart, 227. Their insensibility, 228. Taciturnity, 230. Their

cunning, 231. Their virtues, 233. Their spirito f independence, *ibid.* Fortitude, *ibid.* Attachment to their community, 234. Their satisfaction with their own condition, 235. General caution with respect to this inquiry, 239. Two distinguishable classes of, 241. Exceptions as to their character, 243. Their characteristic features described, 376. Instances of their persevering speed, 378. An antipathy industriously encouraged between them and the negroes in America, by the Spaniards, xi. 35. Their present condition, 37. How taxed, *ibid.* Stated services demanded from them, 39. Mode of exacting these services, 40. How governed, 41. Protector of the Indians, his function, *ibid.* Reasons why so small a progress is made in their conversion, 55.

Amerigo Vespucci publishes the first written account of the New World, and hence gave name to America, viii. 210. His claim as a discoverer examined, 375.

Anacoana, a female cazique of Hispaniola, her base and cruel usage by the Spaniards, viii. 253, 254.

Andes, stupendous height and extent of that range of mountains, ix. 3. Their height compared with other mountains, 351. Gonzalo Pizarro's remarkable expedition over, x. 105.

Animals, large, very few found in America at its first discovery, ix. 18.

Ancients, cause of the imperfection of the art of navigation among them, viii. 6. Their geographical knowledge extremely confined, 350—354.

Arabians peculiarly attached to the study of geography, viii. 39.

Argonauts, the expedition of, why so famous among the Greeks, viii. 16, 17.

Arithmetic, or computation, the art of, hardly known to the native Americans, ix. 91.

Ascolino, father, his extraordinary mission to the Prince of the Tartars, viii. 46.

Asiatic discoveries made by the Russians, ix. 87.

Assiento trade, the nature of, explained, xi. 90. The frauds in, and how put an end to, 91, 92.

Atahualpa, is left by his father Huascar his successor in the kingdom of Quito, x. 130. Defeats his brother Huascar, and usurps the empire of Peru, 132. Sends presents to Pizarro, 135. Visits Pizarro, 139. Is perfidiously seized by him, 143. Agrees with Pizarro on a ransom, 145. Is refused his liberty, 150. His behaviour during his confinement, 153. A form of trial bestowed on him, 154. Is put to death, 156. Comparison of authorities relating to his transactions with, and treatment by Pizarro, 400.

Audience of New Spain, board of, established by the Emperor Charles V., x. 98. Courts of, their jurisdiction, xi. 17.

Averia, a Spanish tax for convoy to and from America, when first imposed, xi. 363. Its rate, *ibid.*

Azores, those islands discovered by the Portuguese, viii. 71.

B

Bacon, Nathaniel, heads an insurrection in Virginia, xi. 246. Forces the governor and council there to fly, 249. They apply to England for succour, 250. His death terminates the rebellion, 251.

Balboa, Vasco Nugnez de, settles a colony at Santa Maria, in the gulf of Darien, viii. 274. Receives intelligence of the rich country of Peru, 282. His character, 285. Marches across the isthmus, 286. Discovers the Southern Ocean, 288. Returns, 289. Is superseded in his command by the appointment of Pedrarias Davila, 292. Is fined by Pedrarias for former transactions, 293. Is appointed lieutenant-governor of the countries on the South Sea, and marries Pedrarias's daughter, 296. Is arrested and put to death by Pedrarias, 298.

Bark, Jesuits, a production peculiar to Peru, xi. 69.

Barrere, his description of the construction of Indian houses, ix. 407.

Behaim, Martin, the honour of having discovered America falsely ascribed to him by some German authors, viii. 367. Account of him and his family, *ibid.*

Behring and Tschirikow, Russian navigators, thought to have discovered the north-west extremity of America from the eastward, ix. 40. Uncertainty of their accounts, 367.

Benulcazar, governor of St. Michael, reduces the kingdom of Quito, x. 161. Is deprived of his command by Pizarro, 195.

Benjamin, the Jew of Tudela, his extraordinary travels, viii. 45.

Bernaldes, instance of the bravery of the Caribbees mentioned by him, ix. 414.

Bethencourt, John de, a Norman baron, conquers and possesses the Canary islands, viii. 54.

Birds, an account of those natural to America, ix. 21. The flight of, often stretch to an immense distance from land, viii. 360.

Bogota in America, some account of the inhabitants of, ix. 143. Causes of their tame submission to the Spaniards, 145. Their religious doctrines and rites, 201.

Bojador, Cape, the first discovery of, viii. 60. Is doubled by the Portuguese discoverers, 65.

Bossu, his account of the American war-song, ix. 401.

Bovadilla, Francis de, is sent to Hispaniola to inquire into the conduct of Columbus, viii. 217. Sends Columbus home in irons, 219. Is degraded, 222. 227.

Bougainville, his defence of the Periplus of Hanno, viii. 348.

Bouguer, M., his character of the native Peruvians, ix. 384.

Brasil, the coast of, discovered by Alvarez Cabral, viii. 213. Remarks on the climate of, ix. 357.

Bridges, Peruvian, described, xi. 433.

Buenos Ayres, in South-America, some account of that province, x. 372.

Bulls, papal, of no force in Spanish America, before examined and approved by the royal council of the Indies, xi. 48. See *Crusado*.

Burial of the dead, American mode of, ix. 202.

C

Cabot, Giovanni, is appointed to command the first expedition to explore unknown countries, xi. 137. Embarks with his son at Bristol, 138. Discovers Newfoundland, 139. Returns to England, *ibid.* No advantage is derived from his discoveries, 140. The scheme is abandoned, 141. He is appointed governor of a company of merchant adventurers, for whom he obtains a charter, 147.

Cabot, Sebastian, sails on an expedition to South-America, xi. 144. Visits Brasil, and touches at Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico, 145. His voyage extends the sphere of English navigation, and proves the means of opening an intercourse with the Archipelago, and some towns on the coast of Syria, *ibid.*

Cabral, Alvarez, a Portuguese commander, discovers the coast of Brasil, viii. 213.

Cacao, the best in quality, produced in the Spanish American colonies, xi. 69. The preparation of chocolate from, derived from the Mexicans, 96.

Cadiz, the galeons and flota, removed thither from Seville, xi. 81.

California, the peninsula of, discovered by Fernando Cortes, x. 100. The true state of this country long unknown, 362. Why depreciated by the Jesuits, 363. Favourable account of, given by Don Joseph Galvez, 364.

Californians, the character of, by P. Venegas, ix. 387.

Campeachy, discovered by Cordova, who is repulsed by the natives, viii. 337.

Campomanes, Don Pedro Rodriguez, character of his political and commercial writings, xi. 359. His account of the produce of the Spanish American mines, 360.

Canary islands erected into a kingdom by Pope Clement VI., viii. 54. Are conquered by John de Bethencourt, *ibid.*

Cannibals, no people ever found to eat human flesh for subsistence, though often for revenge, ix. 164. 402.

Canoes, American, the construction of, described, ix. 185.

Caraccas, establishment of the company trading to that coast, xi. 97. Growth of the trade, 352.

Caribbee islands discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, viii. 161.

Caribbees, their spirit peculiarly fierce, ix. 243. Their character, by M. de Chanvalon, 386. Probable conjecture as to the distinction in character between them and the nature of the larger islands, 416.

Carpini, his extraordinary mission to the Prince of the Tartars, viii. 46.

Carthagena, the harbour of, the safest and best fortified of any in all the Spanish American dominions, x. 376.

Carthaginians, state of commerce and navigation among, viii. 11. The famous voyages of Hanno and Himlico, 13.

Carvajal, Francisco de, contributes to Vaca de Castro's victory over young Almagro, x. 211. Encourages Gonzalo Pizarro to assume the government of Peru, 231. Advises Pizarro to assume the sovereignty of the country, 237. Is seized by Gasca, and executed, 257.

Castillo, Bernal Diaz del, character of his Historia Vardadera de la Conquista de la Neuva Espagna, ix. 418, 419.

Centeno, Diego, revolts from Gonzalo Pizarro to the viceroy of Peru, x. 234. Is defeated by Carvajal, and secretes himself in a cave, 236. Sallies out and seizes Cuzco, 251. Is reduced by Pizarro, 253. Is employed by Gasca to make discoveries in the regions about the river Plata, 264.

Chancellour, Richard, sails in search of a north-west passage, xi. 147. The fleet is scattered in a storm, *ibid.* He enters the White Sea, and winters at Archangel, *ibid.* Visits Moscow, a distance of 1200 miles, and delivers a letter to the czar, 148. Is the means of

opening a trade with Russia, 149. Is empowered by Queen Elizabeth to negotiate with the czar in her name, 150.

Chanvalon, M. de, his character of the native Caribbees, ix. 386.

Chapetones, in the Spanish American colonies, who thus distinguished, xi. 30.

Charles III. King of Spain, establishes packet-boats between Spain and the colonies, xi. 101. Allows free trade to the Windward islands, 102. Grants the colonies a free trade with each other, 106.

Charles V., Emperor, sends Roderigo de Figueroa to Hispaniola, as Chief Judge, to regulate the treatment of the Indians, viii, 317. Causes this subject to be debated before him, 325. Equips a squadron at the solicitation of Ferdinand Magellan, x. 78. Resigns his claim on the Moluccas to the Portuguese, 85. Appoints Cortes governor of New Spain, 88. Rewards him on coming home, 97. Establishes a board called the Audience of New Spain, 98. His consultations on American affairs, 212. Establishes new regulations, 218.

Chesapeak. See *Virginia*.

Chili, is invaded by Almagro, x. 170. How subjected by the Spaniards, 367. Excellence of its climate and soil, 368. Cause of its being neglected, 369. Prospect of its improvement, 370.

Chiquitos, political state of that people, from Fernandez, ix. 397.

Chocolate, the use of, derived from the Mexicans, xi. 96.

Cholula, in Mexico, arrival of Cortes there, with some account of the town, ix. 309. A conspiracy against Cortes discovered, and the inhabitants destroyed, 311, 312.

Church government, sentiments respecting, at the Reformation, xi. 259. Religious persecution in the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, 261, 262. Intolerant spirit of the church, 265. Separation of the Puritans from the church, 268. They are reduced into an ecclesiastical system by Robert Brown,

a popular declaimer, and adopt the name of Brownists, 269. Take refuge in Holland, 270. Remove thence to America, 271. Church government is established in Massachusets Bay, 284. Its intolerance, 285. The intolerance of Laud increases the emigrations from England, 286.

Cicero, instance of his ignorance in geography, viii. 354.

Cinaloa, political state of the people there, ix. 397. Their mode of living, 406. Are destitute of all religion, 410. Extraordinary large grain of gold found there, x. 433.

Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, late discoveries of rich mines made there by the Spaniards, x. 360, 361. Probable effects of these discoveries, 362.

Clavigero, M., several of his objections answered, xi. 343—349.

Clement VI., Pope, erects the Canary islands into a kingdom, viii. 54.

Climates, influenced by a variety of causes, ix. 7, 8. Their operation on mankind, 239. Inquiry into the cause of the different degrees of heat in, 353.

Cochineal, an important production, almost peculiar to New Spain, xi. 69.

Cold, extraordinary predominance of, in the climate of America, ix. 8. Causes of this peculiarity, 10.

Colonies, English American, project of settling them, xi. 158. Two expeditions fail, 161. The first colony established in Virginia, 164. In danger of perishing by famine: it returns to England, 167. A second attempt made to settle there, but the colony perishes by famine, 169, 170. The scheme of settling there is abandoned, 172. Circumstances in the reign of Elizabeth unfavourable to colonisation, *ibid.* The reign of James favourable to the establishment of colonies, 174. James divides the coast of America into two parts, the one called the first or south colony of Virginia; the other, the second or north colony, 178. He grants charters to two companies for the government of them, 179. Tenor and defects of those charters, *ibid.* 180. Under these charters the

settlements of the English in Virginia and new England were established, 182. Capt. Newport sails from England for Virginia, and discovers the Chesapeak, 183, 184. Sails up James-River, and founds a settlement in James-Town, 185. Its bad administration, *ibid.* It is annoyed by the Indians, and suffers from scarcity and the unhealthiness of the climate, 186. Seasonable succours are sent from England, 189. A survey of the country is undertaken, 190. The colony depends for subsistence chiefly on supplies from the natives, 192. A change is made in the constitution of the company, and a new charter is granted with more ample privileges, 193. Lord Delaware is appointed governor of the colony, 194. Anarchy prevails there, 195. It is almost reduced by famine, 196. Lord Delaware arrives, and by his wise administration restores order and discipline, 199. His health obliges him to return to England, and he is superseded by Sir Thomas Dale, who establishes martial law, 200. A new charter is issued to the colony, and new privileges are granted, 201, 202. Cultivation of the land is promoted, and a treaty entered into with the natives, 203. The land in Virginia becomes property, 205. The culture of tobacco is introduced, and its pernicious consequences, 207. The company in England send out a number of young women to induce the colonists to form more extensive plans of industry, 209. Negroes are first introduced, *ibid.* A new constitution is given to the colony, 211. A general massacre of the English is planned by the Indians, and executed in most of the settlements, 214, 215. A bloody war is commenced with the Indians, and neither old nor young are spared, 217. The settlements extend, and industry revives, 218. Defects in the first constitution of the colonies, 227. King Charles's arbitrary government of them, 229. He grants them new privileges, 233. They flourish under the new government, 235. The colonists remain attached to the royal cause, and parliament makes war on Virginia, which is obliged to

acknowledge the commonwealth, 236, 237. Restraints are laid on the trade of the colonies, 238. The colonists are dissatisfied with these restraints, 239. Are the first to acknowledge Charles II., but their loyalty is ill rewarded, 240. Restraints on their commerce farther extended by the navigation act, 241. Effects of the act, 243. Colonists remonstrate against it, 244. The colony of Virginia is attacked by the Indians, 245. Discontents are produced by the grants of land by the crown, 246. A colony is established at new Plymouth in New England, 274. Plan of its government, *ibid.* A grand council is appointed, 277. A new colony is projected, 278. Settles at Massachusets Bay, 283. The charter of the company in England being transferred to the colonies, they extend in consequence of it, 288. 290. The colonists increase, 293. New settlers arrive, 296. Sectaries settle in Providence and Rhode Island, 300. Theological contests give rise to a colony at Connecticut, 301. Emigrants from Massachusets Bay settle there, 303. Settlements are formed in the Provinces of New Hampshire and Main, 304. State of the colonies at the revolution, 315. Are exempted from certain duties, 316. Enter into a league of confederacy, 317. Assume the right of coining, 320. Are patronised by Cromwell, who proposes to transport them to Jamaica, 321. They decline his offer, 322. See *New England, Virginia*, &c.

Colonies, Spanish American, view of the policy and trade of, xi. 1. Depopulation the first effect of them, 2. Causes of this depopulation, *ibid.* The small-pox very fatal to, 5. General idea of the Spanish policy in, 11. Early interposition of the regal authority in, 12. An exclusive trade the first object in, 22. Compared with those of ancient Greece and Rome, 23. The great restrictions they are subject to, 24. Slow progress of their population from Europe, 26. Are discouraged by the state of property there, 27. And by the nature of their ecclesiastical policy, 29. The vari-

ous classes of people in, 30. Ecclesiastical constitution of, 44. Form and endowments of the church there, 46. Pernicious effects of monastic institutions there, 48. Character of the ecclesiastics there, 49. Productions of, 60. The mines, 61. Those of Potosi and Sacotecas, 62. The spirit with which they are worked, 64. Fatal effects of this ardour, 66. Other commodities that compose the commerce of, 68. Amazing increase of horned cattle there, 70. Advantages which Spain formerly derived from them, 71. Why the same advantages are not still received, 72. Guarda Costas employed to check the contraband trade in, 92. The use of register-ships introduced, 93. And galeons laid aside, 95. Company of the Caraccas instituted, 97. Establishment of regular packet-boats to, 101. Free trade permitted between them, 106. New regulations in the government of, 107. Reformation of the courts of justice, 108. New distribution of governments, *ibid.* A fourth viceroyalty established, 109. Attempts to reform domestic policy, 112. Their trade with the Philippine islands, 117. Revenue derived from, by Spain, 121. Expense of administration there, 124. State of population in, xi. 328. The number of monasteries there, 338. See *Mexico*, *Peru*, &c.

Columbus, Bartholomew, is sent by his brother Christopher to negotiate with Henry VII. King of England, viii. 98. The misfortunes of his voyage, 103. Follows his brother at Hispaniola, 174. Is vested with the administration of affairs there by his brother on his return to Spain, 135. Founds the town of St. Domingo, 197.

Columbus, Christopher, birth and education of, viii. 83. His early voyages, 84. Marries and settles at Lisbon, 86. His geographical reflections, 89. Conceives the idea of making discoveries to the westward, 92. Offers his services to the Genoese senate, 94. Cause of his overtures being rejected in Portugal, 96. Applies to the courts of Castile and England, 97, 98. His proposal, how treated by the Spanish geographers, 99. Is patronised by Joan Perez, 104. His proposals again

rejected, 105. Is invited by Isabella, and engaged in the Spanish service, 110, 111. Preparations for his voyage, 112. The amount of his equipment, 114. Sails from Spain, 116. His vigilant attention to all circumstances during his voyage, 118. Apprehensions of his crew, 119. His address in quieting their cabals, 124. Indications of their approaching land, 126. An island discovered, 127. He lands, 128. His interview with the natives, 129. Names the island San Salvadore, 131. Prosecutes his discoveries southward, 132. Discovers, and lands on, the island of Cuba, 133. Discovers Hispaniola, 136. Suffers shipwreck, but is saved by the Indians, 140. Builds a fort, 144. Returns to Europe, 147. His expedient to preserve the memory of his discoveries during a storm, 149. Arrives at the Azores, 150. Arrives at Lisbon, *ibid.* His reception in Spain, 152. His audience with Ferdinand and Isabella, 154. His equipment for a second voyage, 155. Discovers the Caribbee islands, 161. Finds his colony on Hispaniola destroyed, 162, 163. Builds a city, which he calls Isabella, 165. Visits the interior parts of the country, 167. His men discontented and factious, 170, 171. Discovers the island of Jamaica, 172. Meets his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, 173. The natives ill used by his men, and begin to be alarmed, 174, 175. He defeats the Indians, 179. Exacts tribute from them, 180. Returns to Spain to justify his conduct, 185. Is furnished with a more regular plan for colonisation, 188. His third voyage, 192. Discovers the island of Trinidad, 194. Discovers the continent of America, 195. State of Hispaniola on his arrival, 197. Composes the mutiny of Roldan and his adherents, 200. Is distressed by the factious behaviour of his men, 214. Complaints carried to Spain against him, 215, 216. Is sent home in irons, 219. Clears his conduct, but is not restored to his authority, 222. His solicitations neglected, 228. Forms new schemes of discovery, 229. Engages in a fourth voyage, 231. His treatment at Hispaniola,

232. Searches after a passage to the Indian ocean, 234. Is shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica, 236. His artifice to secure the friendship of the Indians, 240. Is delivered, and arrives at Hispaniola, 244. Returns to Spain, 245. His death, 247. His right to the original discovery of America defended, 365. The spirit of adventure raised in England by his discoveries, xi. 134. Is checked by the want of skill in navigation, 135. His system of opening a passage to India by steering a western course is adopted by Cabot, 138.

Columbus, Don Diego, sues out his claim to his father's privileges, viii. 265. Marries and goes over to Hispaniola, 266, 267. Establishes a pearl fishery at Cubagua, 268. Projects the conquest of Cuba, 277. His measures thwarted by Ferdinand, 301. Returns to Spain, 302.

Commerce, the æra from which its commencement is to be dated, viii. 3. Motives to an intercourse among distant nations, 5. Still flourished in the eastern empire after the subversion of the western, 37. Revival of, in Europe, 40.

Compass, mariner's, navigation extended more by the invention of, than by all the efforts of preceding ages, viii. 51. By whom invented, *ibid.* 52.

Condamine, M., his account of the country at the foot of the Andes, in South America, ix. 361. His remarks on the character of the native Americans, 385.

Congo, the kingdom of, discovered by the Portuguese, viii. 74.

Constantinople, the consequence of removing the seat of the Roman empire to, viii. 35. Continued a commercial city after the extinction of the western empire, 37. Became the chief mart of Italy, 40.

Cordova, Francisco Hernandez, discovers Yucatan; viii. 336. Is repulsed at Campeachy, and returns to Cuba, 338.

Corita, Alonzo, his observations on the contraband trade of the Spanish colonies, xi. 115. Character of his American memoirs, x. 410.

Cortes, Fernando, his birth, education, and character,

ix. 247. Is by Velasquez appointed commander of the armament fitted out by him against New Spain, 250. Velasquez becomes jealous of him, 251. Velasquez sends order to deprive him of his commission, and lay him under an arrest, 253. Is protected by his troops, 255. The amount of his forces, 256. Reduces the Indians at Tabasco, 258. Arrives at St. Juan de Ulua, 259. His interview with two Mexican commanders, 262. Sends presents to Montezuma, 265. Receives others in return, 266. His schemes, 273. Establishes a form of civil government, 277. Resigns his commission under Velasquez, and assumes the command in the King's name, 280. His friendship courted by the Zempoallans, 282. Builds a fort, 285. Concludes a formal alliance with several caziques, 286. Discovers a conspiracy among his men, and destroys his ships, 290, 291. Advances into the country, 294. Is opposed by the Tlascalans, 299. Concludes a peace with them, 303. His rash zeal, 307. Proceeds to Cholula, 309. Discovers a conspiracy against him here, and destroys the inhabitants, 311, 312. Approaches in sight of the capital city of Mexico, 314. His first interview with Montezuma, 315. His anxiety at his situation in the city of Mexico, 323. Seizes Montezuma, 328. Orders him to be fettered, 332. Reasons of his conduct, *ibid.* Prevails on Montezuma to own himself a vassal to the Spanish crown, 337. Amount and division of his treasure, 339. Enrages the Mexicans by his imprudent zeal, 343. An armament sent by Velasquez to supersede him, 346. His deliberations on this event, x. 4. Advances to meet Narvaez. 8. Defeats Narvaez, and takes him prisoner, 13. Gains over the Spanish soldiers to his interest, 14. Returns to Mexico, 17. His improper conduct on his arrival, 18. Is resolutely attacked by the Mexicans, 19. Attacks them in return without success, 21. Death of Montezuma, 22. His extraordinary escape from death, 25. Abandons the city of Mexico, 26. Is attacked by the Mexicans, 28. His great losses in the encounter, 29, 30. Difficulties of his retreat, 31. Battle of Otumba, 33. Defeats

the Mexicans, 35. Mutinous spirit of his troops, 39. Reduces the Tepeacans, 41. Is strengthened by several reinforcements, *ibid.* Returns to Mexico, 44. Establishes his head-quarters at Tezeuco, 47. Reduces or conciliates the surrounding country, 49. Cabals among his troops, 50. His prudence in suppressing them, 52. Builds and launches a fleet of brigantines on the lake, 56. Besieges Mexico, 57. Makes a grand assault to take the city by storm, but is repulsed, 62, 63. Evades the Mexican prophecy, 67. Takes Guatimozin prisoner, 71. Gains possession of the city, 72. And of the whole empire, 75. Defeats another attempt to supersede him in his command, 86. Is appointed governor of New Spain, 88. His schemes and arrangements, 89. Cruel treatment of the natives, *ibid.* His conduct subjected to inquiry, 95. Returns to Spain to justify himself, *ibid.* Is rewarded by the Emperor Charles V., 97. Goes back to Mexico with limited powers, 98. Discovers California, 100. Returns to Spain and dies, *ibid.* 101. Inquiry into the nature of his letters to the Emperor Charles V., 416. Authors who wrote of his conquest of New Spain, 417—419.

Council of the Indies, its power, xi. 19.

Creoles in the Spanish American colonies, character of, xi. 31.

Croglan, Colonel George, his account of the discovery of the bones of a large extinct species of animals in North America, ix. 362.

Crusades to the Holy Land, the great political advantages derived from, by the European nations, viii. 42, 43.

Cruzado, bulls of, published regularly every two years in the Spanish colonies, xi. 122. Prices of, and amount of the sale at the last publication, 361.

Cuba, the island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, viii. 133. Is sailed round by Ocampo, 265. The conquest of, undertaken by Diego Velasquez, 276. Cruel treatment of the cazique Hatuey, and his repartee to a friar, 277. Columbus's enthusiastic description of a

harbour in, 361. The tobacco produced there the finest in all America, xi. 70.
Cubagua, a pearl fishery established there, viii. 268.
Cumano, the natives of, revenge their ill treatment by the Spaniards, viii. 329. The country desolated by Diego Ocampo, 333.
Cuzco, the capital of the Peruvian empire, founded by Manco Capac, x. 127. Is seized by Pizarro, 160. Is besieged by the Peruvians, 174. Is surprised by Almagro, 178. Is recovered and pillaged by the Pizarros, 188. Was the only city in all Peru, 353.

D

Dancing, the love of, a favourite passion among the Americans, ix. 209.
Darien, the isthmus of, described, viii. 284. The increase of settlement there, obstructed by the noxiousness of the climate, x. 375.
Delaware, Lord, is appointed governor of Virginia, xi. 194. His wise administration there, 197. Is obliged to return to England on account of his health, 200.
De Solis, his unfortunate expedition up the river Plata, viii. 300.
De Solis, Antonio, character of his Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, ix. 419.
D'Esquilache, Prince, viceroy of Peru, his vigorous measures for restraining the excesses of the regular clergy there, xi. 54. Rendered ineffectual, *ibid.*
Diaz, Bartholomew, discovers the Cape of Good Hope, viii. 78.
Discoveries, the difference between those made by land, and those by sea, stated, viii. 353.
Dodwell, his objections to the Periplus of Hanno exploded, viii. 348.
Domingo, St., on the island of Hispaniola, founded by Bartholomew Columbus, viii. 197.

Dominicans, those in Hispaniola publicly remonstrate against the cruel treatment of the Indians, viii. 303. See *Las Casas*.
Drake, Sir Francis, sails round the world, xi. 156.
Drunkenness, strong propensity of the Americans to indulge in, ix. 214.

E

Earth, the globe of, how divided into zones by the ancients, viii. 32.
Egyptians, ancient, state of commerce and navigation among them, viii. 6.
El Dorado, wonderful reports of a country so called, made by Francis Orellana, x. 199.
Elephant, that animal peculiar to the torrid zone, ix. 363.
Elizabeth, the reign of, auspicious to discovery, xi. 153. She encourages commerce, and secures the trade to Russia, 154. Circumstances in her reign unfavourable to colonisation, 172. Her high idea of her superior skill in theology, 262.
Escurial, curious calendar discovered in the library there by Mr. Waddilove, xi. 421. Description of that valuable monument of Mexican art, *ibid.*
Esquimaux Indians, resemblance between them and their neighbours the Greenlanders, ix. 46. Some account of, 408.
Eugene IV., Pope, grants to the Portuguese an exclusive right to all the countries they should discover, from Cape Non to the continent of India, viii. 69.
Europe, how affected by the dismemberment of the Roman empire by the barbarous nations, viii. 36. Revival of commerce and navigation in, 40. Political advantages derived from the crusades, 42.

F

Ferdinand, King of Castile. See *Columbus* and *Isabella*, Turns his attention at length to the regulation of American affairs, viii. 259. Don Diego de Columbus sues out his father's claims against him, 265. Erects two governments on the continent of America, 270. Sends a fleet to Darien, and supersedes Balboa, 292. Appoints Balboa lieutenant-governor of the countries on the South Sea, 296. Sends Dias de Solis to discover a western passage to the Moluccas, 300. Thwarts the measures of Diego Columbus, 301. His decree concerning the treatment of the Indians, 305.

Fernandez, Don Diego, character of his Historia del Peru, x. 396.

Fernandez, P., his description of the political state of the Chiquitos, ix. 397.

Figueroa, Roderigo de, is appointed chief judge of Hispaniola, with a commission to examine into the treatment of the Indian natives, viii. 317. Makes an experiment to determine the capacity of the Indians, 330.

Florida, discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon, viii. 278. The chiefs there hereditary, ix. 139. Account of, from Alvara Nugnez Cabeca de Vaca, 391.

Flota, Spanish, some account of, xi. 81.

Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, minister for Indian affairs, obstructs the plans of colonisation and discovery formed by Columbus, viii. 181. 192. Patronises the expedition of Alonzo de Ojeda, 209.

Frobisher, Martin, makes three unsuccessful attempts to discover a north-east passage to India, xi. 155.

G

Galeons, Spanish, the nature and purpose of these vessels, xi. 81. Arrangement of their voyage, *ibid.*

Galvez, Don Joseph, sent to discover the true state of California, x. 363.
Gama, Vasco de, his voyage for discovery, viii. 204. Doubles the Cape of Good Hope, 205. Anchors before the city of Melinda, *ibid.* Arrives at Calecut, in Malabar, 206.
Gaming, strange propensity of the Americans to, ix. 13.
Ganges, erroneous ideas of the ancients as to the position of that river, viii. 352.
Gasca, Pedro de la, sent to Peru as president of the Court of Audience in Lima, x. 243. His character and moderation, 243, 244. The powers he was vested with, 245. Arrives at Panama, 246. Acquires possession of Panama with the fleet and forces there, 249. Advances towards Cuzco, 254. Pizarro's troops desert to him, 256. His moderate use of the victory, 257. Devises employment for his soldiers, 264. His division of the country among his followers, 265. The discontents it occasions, 266. Restores order and government, 267. His reception at his return to Spain, 268.
Geminus, instance of his ignorance in geography, viii. 355.
Geography, the knowledge of, extremely confined among the ancients, viii. 31. Became a favourite study among the Arabians, 39.
Giants, the accounts of, in our early travellers, unconfirmed by recent discoveries, viii. 50. ix. 380, 381.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, conducts the first colony to North America, xi. 159. A charter is granted to him and his heirs, 160. Conducts another expedition, which ends disastrously, and in which he perishes, 161.
Gioia, Flavio, the inventor of the mariner's compass, viii. 51.
Globe, its division into zones by the ancients, viii. 32.
Gold, why the first metal with which man was acquainted, x. 369. Extraordinary large grain of, found in the mines at Cinaloa, xi. 434.
Gomara, character of his Cronica de la Neuva Espagna, ix. 417.

Good Hope, Cape of, discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, viii. 79.

Gosnold, Bartholomew, is the first who attempts to steer a direct course from England to North America, xi 174. Descries Massachusets Bay, and returns to England, 175. The consequences of his voyage, *ibid.*

Government, no visible form of, among the native Americans, ix. 134. Exceptions, 138.

Gran Chaco, account of the method of making war among the natives of, from Lozano, xi. 399.

Granada, new kingdom of, in America, by whom reduced to the Spanish dominion, x. 380. Its climate and produce, 381. A viceroy lately established there, xi. 15.

Greeks, ancient, progress of navigation and discovery among them, viii. 16. Their commercial intercourse with other nations very limited, 18, 19.

Greenland, its vicinity to North America, ix. 45.

Greenville, Sir Richard, establishes a colony in Virginia, which, being in danger of perishing by famine, is obliged to return to England, xi. 164, 165. Appears off the coast soon after the departure of the colony, and lands fifteen of his crew to keep possession of the island, who are destroyed by the savages, 169.

Grijalva, Juan de, sets out from Cuba on a voyage of discovery, viii. 339. Discovers and gives name to New Spain, 341. His reasons for not planting a colony in his newly discovered lands, 343.

Guarda Costas, employed by Spain to check illicit trade in the American colonies, xi. 92.

Guatimala, the indigo there superior to any in America, xi. 69.

Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, succeeds Quetlavaca in the kingdom of Mexico, x. 47. Repulses the attacks of the Spaniards, in storming the city of Mexico, 63. Is taken prisoner by Cortes, 71. Is tortured to discover his treasure, 74. Is hanged, 91.

Guiana, Dutch, cause of the excessive fertility of the soil there, ix. 366.

H

Hakluyt improves the naval and commercial skill of the age in which he lived, xi. 176. Is empowered to settle any part of the south colony of Virginia, 178.

Hanno, his Periplus defended, with an account of his voyage, viii. 347.

Hatuey, a cazique of Cuba, his cruel treatment, and memorable repartee to a Franciscan friar, viii. 277.

Hawkesworth's voyages, account of New Holland, and the inhabitants, from, ix. 393.

Heat, the different degrees of, in the old and new continents, accounted for, ix. 353. Estimated, 365.

Henry, Prince of Portugal, his character and studies, viii. 61. Expeditions formed by his order, 63. Applies for a papal grant of his new discoveries, 68. His death, 72.

Herrada, Juan de, assassinates Francis Pizarro, x. 204. Dies, 209.

Herrera, the best historian of the conquest of New Spain, ix. 420. His account of Orellana's voyage, x. 407.

Hispaniola, the island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, viii. 136. His transactions with the natives, *ibid.* 137. A colony left there by Columbus, 145. The colony destroyed, 163. Columbus builds a city called Isabella, 165. The natives ill used, and begin to be alarmed, 174. Are defeated by the Spaniards, 177. Tribute exacted from them, 180. They scheme to starve the Spaniards, 182. St. Domingo founded by Bartholomew Columbus, 197. Columbus sent home in irons by Bovadilla, 219. Nicholas de Ovando appointed governor, 223. Summary view of the conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives of, 251. Unhappy fate of Anacoana, 254. Great produce from the mines there, 257. The inhabitants diminish, 260. The Spa-

niards recruit them by trepanning the natives of the Lucayos, 262. Arrival of Don Diego de Columbus, 267. The natives of, almost extirpated by slavery, 276. 302. Controversy concerning the treatment of them, 302. Columbus's account of the humane treatment he received from the natives of, 362. Curious instance of superstition in the Spanish planters there, ix. 365.

Holguin, Pedro Alvarez, erects the royal standard in Peru, in opposition to the younger Almagro, x. 209. Vaca de Castro arrives, and assumes the command, 210.

Homer, his account of the navigation of the ancient Grecks, viii. 17.

Honduras, the value of that country, owing to its production of the log-wood tree, x. 366.

Horned cattle, amazing increase of them in Spanish America, xi. 70.

Horses, astonishment and mistakes of the Mexicans at the first sight of them, ix. 426. Expedient of the Peruvians to render them incapable of action, x. 406.

Huana Capac, Inca of Peru, his character and family, x. 130.

Huascar Capac, Inca of Peru, disputes his brother Atahualpa's succession to Quito, x. 131. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Atahualpa, 132. Solicits the assistance of Pizarro against his brother, 133. Is put to death by order of Atahualpa. 147.

Hutchinson, Mrs., heads a sect of religious women in New England, who are denominated Antinomians, xi. 298. Her doctrines are condemned by a general synod there, 299.

I

Jamaica, discovered by Christopher Columbus, viii. 172.

Jerome, St., three monks of that order sent by Cardinal Ximenes to Hispaniola, to regulate the treatment of

the Indians, viii. 311. Their conduct under this commission, 314. Are recalled, 317.

Jesuits, acquire an absolute dominion over California, x. 363. Their motives for depreciating the country, *ibid.*

Jews, ancient state of commerce and navigation among them, viii. 10.

Incas of Peru, received origin of their empire, x. 128. 329. Their empire founded both in religion and policy, 330, 331. See *Peru.*

India, the motives of Alexander the Great, in his expedition to, viii. 20. The commerce with, how carried on in ancient times, 27, 28. And when arts began to revive in Europe, 40. The first voyage made round the Cape of Good Hope, 204. Attempts to discover a north-west passage to, unsuccessful, xi. 146. 155. An attempt made by the north-east to, 147. A company of merchants in England is incorporated to prosecute discoveries in, *ibid.* A communication with, attempted by land, 150. The design is encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, 154.

Indians in Spanish America. See *Americans.*

Indies, West, why Columbus's discoveries were so named, viii. 157.

Innocent IV., Pope, his extraordinary mission to the Prince of the Tartars, viii. 46.

Inquisition, court of, when and by whom first introduced into Portugal, viii. 357.

Insects and reptiles, why so numerous and noxious in America, ix. 20.

John I., King of Portugal, the first who sent ships to explore the western coasts of Africa, viii. 57, 58. His son Prince Henry engages in these attempts, 61.

John II., King of Portugal, patronises all attempts towards discoveries, viii. 74. Sends an embassy to Abyssinia, 79. His ungenerous treatment of Columbus, 97.

Iron, the reason why savage nations were unacquainted with this metal, ix. 125.

Isabella, Queen of Castile, is applied to by Juan Perez in behalf of Christopher Columbus, viii. 104. Is again applied to by Quintanilla and Santangel, 108. Is prevailed on to equip him, 110. Dies, 245. Her real motives for encouraging discoveries in America, xi. 6.

Isabella, the city of, in Hispaniola, built by Christopher Columbus, viii. 165.

Italy, the first country in Europe where civilisation and arts revived after the overthrow of the Roman empire, viii. 40. The commercial spirit of, active and enterprising, 42.

L

Ladrone Islands, discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, x. 81.

Lakes, amazing size of those in North America, ix. 4.

Las Casas, Bartholomew, returns from Hispaniola to solicit the cause of the enslaved Indians at the court of Spain, viii. 308. Is sent back with powers by Cardinal Ximenes, 311. Returns dissatisfied, 311. 316. Procures a new commission to be sent over on this subject, 317. Recommends the scheme of supplying the colonies with negroes, 319. Undertakes a new colony, 321. His conference with the Bishop of Darien before the Emperor Charles V., 325. Goes to America to carry his schemes into execution, 328. Circumstances unfavourable to him, 330. His final miscarriage, 331. Revives his representations in favour of the Indians, at the desire of the Emperor, x. 216. Composes a treatise on the destruction of America, 217.

Leon, Pedro Cieza de, character of his Chronica del Peru, x. 395.

Lery, his description of the courage and ferocity of the Toupinambos, ix. 400.

Lima, the city of, in Peru, founded by Pizarro, x. 168.

Liston, Mr., the British minister at Madrid, his answer to several interesting inquiries relating to the admission of Indians into holy orders, x. 347.

Logwood, the commodity that gives importance to the provinces of Honduras and Yucatan, x. 365. Policy of the Spaniards to defeat the English trade in, *ibid.*

Louis, St., King of France, his embassy to the Chan of the Tartars, viii. 47.

Lozano, his account of the method of making war among the natives of Gran Chaco, ix. 399.

Luque, Hernando de, a priest, associates with Pizarro in his Peruvian expedition, x. 107.

M

Madeira, the island of, first discovered, viii. 64.

Madoc, Prince of North Wales, story of his voyage and discovery of North America examined, viii. 369.

Magellan, Ferdinand, his account of the gigantic size of the Patagonians, ix. 82. The existence of this gigantic race yet to be decided, 83. 380, 381. His introduction to the court of Castile, x. 78. Is equipped with a squadron for a voyage of discovery, *ibid.* Sails through the famous strait that bears his name, 80. Discovers the Ladrone and Philippine islands, 81, 82. Is killed, 82.

Magnet, its property of attracting iron known to the ancients, but not its polar inclination, viii. 6. Extraordinary advantages resulting from this discovery, 51.

Malo, St., account of its commerce with Spanish America, xi. 89.

Manco Capac, founder of the Peruvian empire, account of, x. 127, 128. 329.

Mandeville, Sir John, his eastern travels, with a character of his writings, viii. 49.

Manila, the colony of, established by Philip II. of Spain, xi. 117. Trade between, and South America, *ibid.*

Mankind, their disposition and manners formed by their situation, ix. 30. Hence resemblances to be traced in very distant places without communication, 31. Have

uniformly attained the greatest perfection of their nature in temperate regions, 240.
Marco Polo, the Venetian, his extraordinary travels in the East, viii. 48.
Marest, Gabriel, his account of the country between the Illinois and Machilimakinac, ix. 394.
Marina, Donna, a Mexican slave, her history, ix. 260.
Marinus, Tyrius, his erroneous position of China, viii. 359.
Martyr, Peter, his sentiments on the first discovery of America, viii. 372.
Maryland. See *Virginia*.
Massachusets Bay. See *America*, *New England*, &c.
Merchants, English, the right of property in the North American colonies, vested in a company of, resident in London, xi. 172. Charters are granted to two companies of, to make settlements in America, 179. Tenor and defects of these charters, 180. A new charter is granted to them, with more ample privileges, 193. They are divided by factions, 219. An inquiry is instituted into their conduct, 220. They are required to surrender their charter, which they refuse, 223. A writ of *quo warranto* is issued out against them, 224. They are tried in the court of King's Bench, and the company is dissolved, 225. Their charter is transferred to the colonies, 288.
Mestizos, in the Spanish American colonies, distinction between them and mulattoes, xi. 33.
Metals, useful, the original natives of America totally unacquainted with, ix. 128.
Mexicans, their account of their own origin, compared with later discoveries, ix. 49. Their paintings few in number, and of ambiguous meaning, x. 277. Two collections of them discovered, 278. note. Descriptions of their historical pictures, 418. Various exaggerated accounts of the number of human victims sacrificed by them, 427. Their language furnished with respectful terminations for all its words, 413. How they contributed to the support of government, *ibid.*

Mexico, arrival of Fernando Cortes on the coast of, ix. 259. His interview with two Mexican officers, 262. Information sent to Montezuma, with some Spanish presents, 265. Montezuma sends presents to Cortes, with orders not to approach his capital, 266, 267. State of the empire at that time, 268. The Zempoallans court the friendship of Cortes, 282. Several caziques enter into alliance with Cortes, 286. Character of the natives of Tlascala, 294. The Tlascalans reduced to sue for peace, 302. Arrival of Cortes at the capital city, 315. The city described, 320. Montezuma acknowledges himself a vassal to the Spanish crown, 337. Amount of the treasure collected by Cortes, 339. Reasons of gold being found in such small quantities, 341. The Mexicans enraged by the imprudent zeal of Cortes, 343. Attack Alvarado during the absence of Cortes, x. 15. Their resolute attack on Cortes when he returned, 19. Death of Montezuma, 24. The city abandoned by Cortes, 26. Battle of Otumba, 33. The Tepeacans reduced, 41. Preparations of the Mexicans against the return of Cortes, 45. Cortes besieges the city with a fleet on the lake, 59. The Spaniards repulsed in storming the city, 63. Guatimozin taken prisoner, 71. Cortes appointed governor, 88. His schemes and arrangements, 89. Inhuman treatment of the natives, 90. Reception of the new regulations there, 221. A retrospect into the form of government, policy, and arts in, 271. Our information concerning, very imperfect, 275. Origin of the monarchy, 278. Number and greatness of the cities, 284. Mechanical professions there distinguished from each other, 286. Distinction of ranks, 287. Political institutions, 290. Power and splendor of their monarchs, 294. Order of government, 295. Provision for the support of it, *ibid.* Police of, 296. Their arts, 297. Their paintings, 299. Their method of computing time, 307. Their wars continual and ferocious, 308. Their funeral rites, 310. Imperfection of their agriculture, *ibid.* Doubts concerning the extent of the empire, 311.

Little intercourse among its several provinces, 313. Ignorance of money, 315. State of their cities, 316. Temples and other public buildings, 317, 318. Religion of, 324. Causes of the depopulation of this country, xi. 2. The small-pox very fatal there, 5. Number of Indian natives remaining there, 9. List and character of those authors who wrote accounts of the conquest of, ix. 414. Description of the aqueduct for the supply of the capital city, x. 415. See *Colonies*.

Michael, St., the gulph of, in the south sea discovered and named by Balboa, viii. 288. The colony of, established by Pizarro, x. 125.

Migrations, of mankind, why first made by land, viii. 1.

Mind, human, the efforts of it proportioned to the wants of the body, ix. 97.

Mines of South America, the great inducement to population, x. 359. Some account of, xi. 61. Their produce, 63. The spirit with which they are worked, 64. Fatal effects of this ardour, 66. Evidence of the pernicious effects of labouring in them, 335. Of Mexico, total produce of, to the Spanish revenue, iv. 364, 365, 366.

Molucca islands, the Spanish claims on, sold by the Emperor Charles V., to the Portuguese, x. 84.

Monastic institutions, the pernicious effects of, in the Spanish American colonies, xi. 48. Number of convents there, 338.

Monsoons, the periodical course of, when discovered by navigators, viii. 27.

Montesino, a Dominican preacher at St. Domingo, publicly remonstrates against the cruel treatment of the Indians, viii. 303.

Montezuma, the first intelligence received by the Spaniards of this prince, viii. 342. Receives intelligence of the arrival of Fernando Cortes in his dominions, ix. 265. His presents to Cortes, 266. Forbids him to approach his capital, 267. State of his empire at this time, 268. His character, 269. His perplexity at the arrival of the Spaniards, 270. His timid negotia-

tions with Cortes, 271. His scheme for destroying Cortes at Cholula discovered, 311. His irresolute conduct, 315. His first interview with Cortes, *ibid.*. Is seized by Cortes, and confined to the Spanish quarters, 328. Is fettered, 332. Acknowledges himself a vassal to the Spanish crown, 337. Remains inflexible with regard to religion, 342. Circumstances of his death, x. 23. Account of a gold cup of his, in England, 415.

Mulattoes, in the Spanish American colonies, explanation of this distinction, xi. 33.

N

Narvaez, Pamphilo, is sent by Velasquez with an armament to Mexico, to supersede Cortes, ix. 348. Takes possession to Zempoalla, x. 8. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Cortes, 13. How he carried on his correspondence with Montezuma, 386.

Natchez, an American nation, their political institutions, ix. 139, 140. Causes of their tame submission to the Spaniards, 145. Their religious doctrines, 146.

Navigation, the arts of, very slowly improved by mankind, viii. 2. The knowledge of, prior to commercial intercourse, 3. Imperfections of, among the ancients, 6. More improved by the invention of the mariner's compass, than by all the efforts of preceding ages, 51. The first naval discoveries undertaken by Portugal, 55.

Negroes, their peculiar situation under the Spanish dominion in America, xi. 35. Are first introduced into Virginia, 209.

New England, first attempts to settle in, unsuccessful, xi. 257. Religious disputes give rise to the colony there, 258. A settlement is formed at New Plymouth in Massachusets Bay, 274. Plan of its government, 275. All property is thrown into a common stock, 276. A grand council is appointed, 277. A new

colony is projected at Massachusets Bay, and a charter granted for its establishment, 280. Its settlement there, 283. A new church is instituted there, 284. Its intolerance, 285. Charter of the English company of merchants in London is transferred to the colonies, 288. The colony at Massachusets Bay extends, 290. None but members of the church are admitted as freemen there, 291. Bad consequences of this regulation, 292. The settlement increases, and the assembly is restricted to the representatives of freemen, 294. Extent of political liberty assumed by the assembly, *ibid.* Spirit of fanaticism spreads in the colony, 295. New settlers arrive, and the doctrines of the Antinomians are condemned by a general synod, 299. Sectaries settle in Providence and Rhode Island, 300. Theological contests give rise to the colony of Connecticut, 301. Emigrants from Massachusets Bay settle in Connecticut, 303. The Dutch, who had established a few trading towns on the river there, peaceably withdraw, *ibid.* Settlements are formed in the provinces of New Hampshire and Main, 304. Further encroachments of the English are resisted by the natives, 306. War with the Pequod tribes is commenced, 308. Purification of the army, 309. The Indians are defeated, 310. Cruelties exercised against them, 311. Emigrations from England to the colonies are prohibited by proclamation, 312. Colony of Massachusets Bay is sued at law, and found to have forfeited its rights, 313. Confederacy of the states in, 317. See *Colonies.*

Newfoundland, its situation described, ix. 353. Discovery of, by Cabot, xi. 139.

New Holland, some account of the country and inhabitants, ix. 393.

New Plymouth, settlement at, xi. 124. See *Colonies, New England.*

New Spain, discovered and named by Juan de Grijalva, viii. 341. See *Mexico.*

Nigno, Alonso, his voyage to America, viii. 211.

Norwegians, might in ancient times have migrated to, and colonized, America, ix. 47.

Nugnez Vela, Blasco, appointed viceroy of Peru, to enforce the new regulations, x. 221. His character, 227. Commits Vaca de Castro to prison, *ibid.* Dissentions between him and the court of audience, 230. Is confined, *ibid.* Recovers his liberty, 232. Resumes his command, 233. Is pursued by Gonzalo Pizarro, 235. Is defeated and killed by Pizarro, 236.

O

Ocampo, Diego, sent with a squadron from Hispaniola to desolate the country of Cumana, viii. 329. 332.

Ocampo, Sebastian de, first sails round Cuba, and discovers it to be an island, viii. 265.

Ocean, though adapted to facilitate the intercourse between distant countries, continued long a formidable barrier, viii. 2. See *Compass* and *Navigation*.

Ojeda, Alonzo de, his private expedition to the West Indies, viii. 209. His second voyage, 224. Obtains a government on the continent, 270.

Olmedo, Father Bartholomew de, checks the rash zeal of Cortes at Tlascala in Mexico, ix. 308. Is sent by Cortes to negotiate with Narvaez, x. 5.

Orellana, Francis, is appointed to the command of a bark built by Gonzalo Pizarro, and deserts him, x. 197. Sails down the Maragnon, 198. Returns to Spain with a report of wonderful discoveries, 199. Herrera's account of his voyage, 407.

Orgognez commands Almagro's party against the Pizarros, and is defeated and killed by them, x. 186, 187.

Orinoco, the great river of, discovered by Christopher Columbus, viii. 194. The amazing plenty of fish in, ix. 390. Strange method of choosing a captain among the Indian tribes on the banks of, 168.

Otaheite, the inhabitants of, ignorant of the art of boiling water, ix. 409.

Otumba, battle of, between Cortes and the Mexicans, x. 33.

Ovando, Nicholas de, is sent governor to Hispaniola, viii. 225. His prudent regulations, 227. Refuses admission to Columbus, on his fourth voyage, 232. His ungenerous behaviour to Columbus, on his shipwreck, 238. 242. Receives him at length, and sends him home, 244. Engages in a war with the Indians, 251. His cruel treatment of them, 252. Encourages cultivation and manufactures, 258. His method of trepanning the natives of the Lucayos, 262. Is recalled, 266.

P

Pacific ocean, why and by whom so named, x. 81.

Packet boats, first establishment of, between Spain and her American colonies, xi. 101.

Panama is settled by Pedrarias Davila, viii. 299.

Parmenides, the first who divided the earth by zones, viii. 356.

Patagonians, some account of, ix. 81. The reality of their gigantic size yet to be decided, 83. 380, 381.

Pedrarias Davila is sent with a fleet to supersede Balboa in his government of Santa Maria on the isthmus of Darien, viii. 291. Treats Balboa ill, 293. Rapacious conduct of his men, 295. Is reconciled to Balboa, and gives him his daughter, 296. Puts Balboa to death, 298. Removes his settlement from Santa Maria to Panama, 299.

Penguin, the name of that bird not derived from the Welch language, viii. 370.

Perez, Juan, patronises Columbus at the court of Castile, viii. 104. His solemn invocation for the success of Columbus's voyage, 116.

Periplus of Hanno, the authenticity of that work justified, viii. 348.

Peru, the first intelligence concerning this country, received by Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, viii. 283. 289. The coast of, first discovered by Pizarro, x. 115. Pizarro's second arrival, 122. His hostile proceedings against the natives, 124. The colony of St. Michael established, 125. State of the empire at the time of this invasion, 126. The kingdom divided between Huascar and Atahualpa, 131. Atahualpa usurps the government, *ibid.* Huascar solicits assistance from Pizarro, 133. Atahualpa visits Pizarro, 140. Is seized by Pizarro, 143. Agreement for his ransom, 145. Is refused his liberty, 150. Is cruelly put to death, 156. Confusion of the empire on this event, 158. Quito reduced by Benalcazar, 161. The city of Lima founded by Pizarro, 168. Chili invaded by Almagro, 170. Insurrection of the Peruvians, 171. Almagro put to death by Pizarro, 190. Pizarro divides the country among his followers, 193. Progress of the Spanish arms there, 194. Francis Pizarro assassinated, 205. Reception of the new regulations there, 223. The viceroy confined by the court of audience, 230. The viceroy defeated and killed by Gonzalo Pizarro, 236. Arrival of Pedro de la Gasca, 246. Reduction and death of Gonzalo Pizarro, 257. The civil wars there not carried on with mercenary soldiers, 259. But nevertheless gratified with immense rewards, 260. Their profusion and luxury, 261. Ferocity of their contests, 262. Their want of faith, *ibid.* Instances, 263. Division of, by Gasca, among his followers, 265. A retrospect into the original government, arts, and manners of the natives, 271. The high antiquity they pretend to, 326. Their records, 327. Origin of their civil policy, 329. This founded in religion, 331. The authority of the Incas absolute and unlimited, 332. All crimes were punished capitally, 333. Mild genius of their religion, 334. Its influence on their civil policy, 336. And on their military system, 337. Peculiar state of property there, 338. Distinction

of ranks, 339. State of arts, 340. Improved state of agriculture, 341. Their buildings, 343. Their public roads, 346. Their bridges, 348. Their mode of refining silver ore, 350. Works of elegance, 351. Their civilisation nevertheless but imperfect, 353. Cuzco the only place that had the appearance of a city, *ibid.* No perfect separation of professions, 354. Little commercial intercourse, *ibid.* Their unwarlike spirit, 355. Eat their flesh and fish raw, 357. Brief account of other provinces under the viceroy of New Spain, 358. Causes of the depopulation of this country, xi. 3. The small-pox very fatal there, 5. Writers who gave accounts of the conquest of, x. 394. Their method of building, 431. State of the revenue derived from, by the crown of Spain, xi. 362. See *Colonies.*

Peter I. Czar of Russia, his extensive views in prosecuting Asiatic discoveries, ix. 38.

Phenicians, ancient, state of commerce and navigation among them, viii. 8. Their trade, how conducted, 347.

Philip II. of Spain, his turbulent disposition aided by his American treasures, xi. 73. Establishes the colony of Manila, 117.

Philip III. exhausts his country by inconsiderate bigotry, xi. 74.

Philippine Islands, discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, x. 82. A colony established there by Philip II. of Spain, xi. 117. Trade between, and America, *ibid.*

Physic, the art of, in America, why connected with divination, ix. 205.

Pinto, Chevalier, his description of the characteristic features of the native Americans, ix. 377.

Pinzon, Vincent Yanez, commands a vessel under Columbus in his first voyage of discovery, viii. 114. Sails to America on a private adventure with four ships, 116. Discovers Yucatan, 264.

Pizarro, Ferdinand, is besieged in Cuzco by the Peruvians, x. 173. Is surprised there by Almagro, 178.

Escapes with Alvarado, 182. Defends his brother at the court of Spain, 191. Is committed to prison, 193.

Pizarro, Francisco, attends Balboa in his settlement on the isthmus of Darien, viii. 274. Marches under him across the isthmus, where they discover the South Sea, 287. His birth, education, and character, x. 105. Associates with Almagro and De Luque, in a voyage of discovery, 107. His ill success, 109. Is recalled, and deserted by most of his followers, 112. Remains on the island of Gorgona for supplies, 114. Discovers the coast of Peru, 115. Returns to Panama, 116. Goes to Spain to solicit reinforcements, 118. Procures the supreme command for himself, 119. Is assisted with money by Cortes, 120. Lands again in Peru, 122. His hostile proceedings against the natives, 124. Establishes the colony of St. Michael, 125. State of the Peruvian empire at this time, 126. Cause of his easy penetration into the country, 132. Is applied to by Huascar for assistance against his victorious brother, Atahualpa, 133. State of his forces, 134. Arrives at Caxamalca, 137. Is visited by the Inca, 140. His perfidious seizure of him, 143. Agrees to Atahualpa's offer for his ransom, 145. Division of their plunder, 148. Refuses Atahualpa his liberty, 150. His ignorance exposed to Atahualpa, 154. Bestows a form of trial on the Inca, *ibid.* Puts him to death, 156. Advances to Cuzco, 159. Honours conferred on him by the Spanish court, 165. Beginning of dissentions between him and Almagro, 166. His civil regulations, 167. Founds the city of Lima, 168. Insurrection of the Peruvians, 171. Cuzco seized by Almagro, 178. Deludes Almagro by negotiations, 182. Defeats Almagro, and takes him prisoner, 186, 187. Puts Almagro to death, 190. Divides the country among his followers, 193. The impolitic partiality of his allotments, *ibid.* Makes his brother Gonzalo governor of Quito, 195. Is assassinated by Juan de Herreda, 205.

Pizarro, Gonzalo, is made governor of Quito by his brother Francis, x. 195. His expedition over the Andes, *ibid.* Is deserted by Orellana, 197. His distress on this event, 200. His disastrous return to Quito, 201. Is encouraged by the people to oppose Nugnez Vela, the new viceroy, 228. Assumes the government of Peru, 232. Marches against the viceroy, 234. Defeats and kills him, 238. Is advised by Carvajal to assume the sovereignty of the country, 237. Chooses to negotiate with the court of Spain, 240. Consultations of the court on his conduct, *ibid.* His violent resolutions on the arrival of Pedro de la Gasca, 247. Resolves to oppose him by violence, 250. Marches to reduce Centeno at Cuzco, 252. Defeats him, 253. Is deserted by his troops on the approach of Gasca, 256. Surrenders, and is executed, 257. His adherents men of no principle, 263.

Plata, Rio de, discovered by Dias de Solis, viii. 300. Its amazing width, ix. 352.

Playfair, Mr., professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, the result of his comparison of the narrative and charts given in Captain Cook's voyages, published in 1780; and Mr. Coxe's account of the Russian discoveries, printed in the same year, in which the vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America is clearly ascertained, ix. 370—375.

Pliny, the naturalist, instance of his ignorance in geography, viii. 355.

Ponce de Leon, Juan, discovers Florida, viii. 278. Romantic motive of his voyage, 279.

Population of the earth, slow progress of, viii. 1.

Porto Bello, discovered and named by Christopher Columbus, viii. 235.

Porto Rico is settled and subjected by Juan Ponce de Leon, viii. 263, 264.

Porto Santo, the first discovery of, viii. 63.

Portugal, when and by whom the court of inquisition was first introduced into, viii. 357.

Portuguese, a view of the circumstances that induced them to undertake the discovery of unknown countries, viii. 56. 58. First African discoveries of, 60. Madeira discovered, 64. They double Cape Bojador, 65. Obtain a papal grant of all the countries they should discover, 70. Cape Verd islands and the Azores discovered, 71. Voyage to the East Indies by Vasco de Gama, 204.

Potosi, the rich silver mines there, how discovered, xi. 62. The mines of, greatly exhausted, and scarcely worth working, 350.

Prisoners of war, how treated by the native Americans, ix. 159.

Property, the idea of, unknown to the native Americans, ix. 130. Notions of the Brasilians concerning, 395.

Protector of the Indians in Spanish America, his function, xi. 41.

Ptolemy, the philosopher, his geographical descriptions more ample and exact than those of his predecessors, viii. 35. His geography translated by the Arabians, 39. His erroneous position of the Ganges, 352.

Q

Quetlavaca, brother of Montezuma, succeeds him as King of Mexico, x. 45. Conducts in person the fierce attacks which obliged Cortes to abandon his capital, *ibid.* Dies of the small pox, 46.

Quevedo, Bishop of Darien, his conference with Las Casas on the treatment of the Indians, in the presence of the Emperor Charles V., viii. 325.

Quicksilver, the property of the famous mines of, at Guanacabelica, reserved by the crown of Spain, x. 350. The price of, why reduced, 351.

Quinquina, or Jesuits' Bark, a production peculiar to Peru, xi. 69.

Quipos, or historic cords of the Peruvians, some account of, x. 327.

Quito, the kingdom of, conquered by Huana Capac, Inca of Peru, x. 130. Is left to his son Atahualpa, *ibid.* Atahualpa's general revolts after his death, 159. Is reduced by the Spaniards under Benalcazar, 161. Benalcazar deposed, and Gonzalo Pizarro made governor, 195.

R

Raleigh resumes the plan of settling colonies in North-America, xi. 162. Dispatches Amadas and Barlow to examine the intended settlements, who discover Virginia, and return to England, 163. Establishes a colony in Virginia, which, on account of famine, is obliged to return to England, 165. Makes a second attempt to settle a colony there, which perishes by famine, 170. Abandons the design, 171.

Ramusio, his defence of Hanno's account of the coast of Africa, viii. 349.

Register ships, for what purpose introduced in the trade between Spain and her colonies, xi. 93. Supersede the use of the galleons, 95.

Religion of the native Americans, an enquiry into, ix. 189.

Ribas, his account of the political state of the people of Cinaloa, ix. 406. Of their want of religion, 410.

Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, account of those provinces, x. 371.

Rivers, the amazing size of those in America, ix. 4.

Robison, professor, his remarks on the temperature of various climates, ix. 354, 355, 356.

Roldan, Francis, is left chief-justice in Hispaniola, by Christopher Columbus, viii. 185. Becomes the ring-leader of a mutiny, 198. Submits, 203.

Romans, their progress in navigation and discovery, viii. 25. Their military spirit averse to mechanical arts and

commerce, 26. Navigation and trade favoured in the provinces under their government, 27. Their extensive discoveries by land, 29. Their empire and the sciences destroyed together, 36.
Rubruquis, father, his embassy from France to the Chan of the Tartars, viii. 47.
Russia, a trade to, opened by the English, xi. 150. Restricted to a company of British merchants, *ibid.* The connection with the Russian empire encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, 154.
Russians, Asiatic discoveries made by them, ix. 37. Uncertainty of, 367, 368.

S

Sacotecas, the rich silver mines there, when discovered, xi. 62.
San Salvador, discovered and named by Christopher Columbus, viii. 131.
Sancho, Don Pedro, account of his History of the Conquest of Peru, 395.
Sandoval, the shocking barbarities executed by, in Mexico, x. 91.
Sandoval, Francisco Tello de, is sent by the Emperor Charles V. to Mexico, as visitador of America, x. 220. His moderation and prudence, 222.
Savage life, a general estimate of, ix. 222.
Scalps, motive of the native Americans for taking them from their enemies, ix. 401.
Serralvo, Marquis de, his extraordinary gains during his viceroyalty in America, xi. 367.
Seville, extraordinary increase of its manufactures by the American trade, xi. 352. Its trade greatly reduced, 353. The American trade removed to Cadiz, 81.
Silver ore, method of refining it practised by the native Peruvians, x. 350.
Small-pox, Indian territories depopulated by, xi. 293.
Sonora, late discoveries of rich mines made there by the Spaniards, x. 360.

Soul, American ideas of the immortality of, ix. 201.
South Sea, first discovered by Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, viii. 288.
Spain, general idea of the policy of, with regard to the American colonies, xi. 11. Early interposition of the regal authority in the colonies, 12. All the American dominions of, subjected to two viceroys, 14. A third viceroyalty lately established, 15. The colonies of, compared with those of Greece and Rome, 23. Advantages she derived from her colonies, 71. Why she does not still derive the same, 72. Rapid decline of trade, 75. This decline increased by the mode of regulating the intercourse with America, 78. Employs Guarda Costas to check illicit trade, 92. The use of register ships introduced, 93. Establishment of the company of Caraccas, 97. Enlargement of commercial ideas there, 99. Free trade permitted to several provinces, 102. Revenue derived from America, 121. Specification, 362.
Spaniards, their curious form of taking possession of new-discovered countries, viii. 378.
Strabo, a citation from, proving the great geographical ignorance of the ancients, viii. 351. His own want of geographical knowledge, 356.
Superstition always connected with a desire of penetrating into the secrets of futurity, ix. 204.

T

Tapia, Christoval de, is sent from Spain to Mexico, to supersede Cortes in his command, but fails in the attempt, x. 86.
Tartars, the possibility of their migrating to America, ix. 43.
Tlascala, in Mexico, character of the natives of, ix. 294. Oppose the passage of the Spaniards, 296. Are reduced to sue for peace, 302.

Tobacco, that of Cuba the best flavoured of any in all America, xi. 69. The use of, first introduced into England, 168. Culture of, in Virginia, and its consequences, 207. Its exportation thence is annually increased, 208. Trade for, opened with Holland, 212. Grants and monopoly of, 230.

Toupinambos, account of their ferocious courage from Lery, ix. 400.

Trade, no efforts made in England to extend it in the reign of Henry VII. or his immediate successors, xi. 142. To what causes that neglect was owing, 143.

Trade, free, opened between Spain and her colonies, xi. 102. Increase of the Spanish customs from this measure, 358.

Trade winds, the periodical course of, when discovered by navigators, viii. 27.

Travellers, ancient character of their writings, viii. 50.

Trinidad, the island of, discovered by Christopher Columbus on his third voyage, viii. 194.

Tucuman, and Rio de la Plata, account of those provinces, x. 371.

Tyre, the commerce of that city, how conducted, viii. 347.

Tythes of Spanish America, how applied by the court of Spain, xi. 363.

V

Vaca de Castro, Christoval, is sent from Spain to regulate the government of Peru, x. 192. Arrives at Quito, 207. Assumes the supreme authority, 208. Defeats young Almagro, 210. The severity of his proceedings, 211. Prevents an insurrection concerted to oppose the new regulations, 225. Is imprisoned by the new viceroy, 227.

Valverde, Father Vincent, his curious harangue to Atahualpa, Inca of Peru, x. 140. Gives his sanction to the trial and condemnation of Atahualpa, 156.

Vega, Garcillasso de la, character of his commentary on the Spanish writers concerning Peru, x. 396.

Vegetables, their natural tendency to fertilise the soil where they grow, ix. 24, 25.

Velasquez, Diego de, conquers the island of Cuba, viii. 276. 334. His preparations for invading New Spain, ix. 245. His difficulty in choosing a commander for the expedition, 246. Appoints Fernando Cortes, 247. His motives to this choice, 250. Becomes suspicious of Cortes, *ibid.* Orders Cortes to be deprived of his commission, and arrested, 252, 253. Sends an armament to Mexico after Cortes, 346.

Venegas, P., his character of the native Californians, ix. 387.

Venereal disease originally brought from America, ix. 87. Appears to be wearing out, 88. Its first rapid progress, 382.

Venezuela, history of that settlement, x. 378.

Venice, its origin as a maritime state, viii. 43. Travels of Marco Polo, 48.

Verd Islands, discovered by the Portuguese, viii. 71.

Viceroys, all the Spanish dominions in America subjected to two, xi. 14. A third lately established, 15. Their powers, *ibid.* A fourth established, 109.

Villa Segnor, his account of the state of population in New Spain, x. 328. His detail of the Spanish American revenue, xi. 362.

Villefagna, Antonio, one of Cortes's soldiers, foments a mutiny among his troops, x. 51. Is discovered by Cortes and hanged, 52.

Virginia, first discovery of, xi. 163. Attempt to settle there unsuccessful, 164. A second attempt to settle there, when the colony perishes by famine, 171. The scheme of settling there abandoned, *ibid.* Is divided into two colonies, 178. Charters are granted to two companies to make settlements in, 179. Captain Newport sails from England to, and discovers the Chesapeak, 184. He proceeds up James-river, and founds a colony in James-town, 185. Its bad ad-

ministration, 185. Captain Smith is excluded from his seat at the council-board, *ibid.* The colony is annoyed by the Indians, and suffers from scarcity and the unhealthiness of the climate, 186. Smith is recalled, and the prosperity of the colony restored, 187. He is taken prisoner by the Indians, his life spared, and his liberty obtained through the intercession of the favourite daughter of an Indian chief, 188, 189. Returns to James-town, and finds the colony in distress, 189. The colonists are deceived by the appearance of gold, *ibid.* A survey of the country is undertaken by Smith, 190. The company obtains a new charter with more ample privileges, 193. The jurisdiction of the council in, is abolished, and the government vested in a council resident in London, *ibid.* Lord Delaware is appointed governor and captain-general of the colony, and Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers are vested with the command till his arrival, 194. The vessel in which they embark is stranded on the coast of Bermudas, 195. Smith returns to England, and anarchy prevails in the colony, *ibid.* The Indians withhold supplies, and the colony is reduced by famine, 196. Gates and Summers arrive from Bermudas, and find the colony in a desperate situation, 198. They are about to return to England, when Lord Delaware arrives, *ibid.* He reconciles all differences, and perfectly restores subordination, 199. Is obliged to resign the government, and return to England on account of his health, 200. Is superseded by Sir Thomas Dale, who establishes martial law, *ibid.* Another charter is granted to the colony, with new privileges, 201. The land is cultivated, and a treaty concluded with the Indians, 203. Rolfe, a man of rank in the colony, marries the daughter of an Indian chief, 204. The land first becomes property, 205. The culture of tobacco is introduced, 207. The quantity exported increases every year, 208, 209. Negroes are first introduced, *ibid.* A general assembly of representatives is formed,

210. A new constitution is given to the colony, and a trade for tobacco opened with Holland, 211, 212. The necessary precautions for the defence of the colony being neglected, a general massacre of the English is planned by the Indians, and executed in most of the settlements, 214, 215. A bloody war is commenced with the Indians, 217. Their plantations are attacked, and the owners murdered, 218. A few escape to the woods where they perish with hunger, *ibid.* The settlements extend, and industry revives, *ibid.* The strength of the colony is considerably weakened, 227. A temporary council is appointed for its government, 228. The arbitrary government of the colonies on the accession of Charles I., 229. The colonists seize Sir John Harvey, the governor, and send him prisoner to England, 231. He is released by the King, and reinstated in his government, 232. Is succeeded by Sir John Berkeley, whose wise administration is productive of the best effects, 233. New privileges are granted to the colony, which flourishes under the new government, 234, 235. It is attacked by the Indians, 245. Discontents are produced by grants of lands from the crown, 246. An insurrection breaks out, and the governor and council are forced to fly, 249. They apply to England for succour, 250. The rebellion is terminated by the death of Nathaniel Bacon, 251. The governor is reinstated, and an assembly called, 252. The moderation of its proceedings, 253. General state of the colony till the year 1688, *ibid.* See *Colonies.*

Ulloa, Don Antonio de, his description of the characteristic features of the native Americans, x. 376. His reason for the Americans not being so sensible of pain as the rest of mankind, 403. His account of the goods exported from Spain to America, with the duty on them, xi. 362.

Volcanos, remarkable number of, in the northern parts of the globe discovered by the Russians, ix. 368.

W

Wafer, Lionel, his account of a peculiar race of diminutive Americans, ix. 78. Compared with similar productions in Africa, 79.
War-song of the native Americans, the sentiments and terms of, ix. 401.
Willoughby, Sir Hugh, sails in search of a north-east passage to India, xi. 147. Steers along the coast of Norway, and doubles the north cape, *ibid.* His squadron is separated in a storm, and his ship driven into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, where he and all his companions are frozen to death, 148.
Women, the condition of, among the native Americans, ix. 103. Are not prolific, 106. Are not permitted to join in their drunken feasts, 218. Nor to wear ornaments, 405.

X

Xerez, Francisco de, secretary to Pizarro, the earliest writer on his Peruvian expedition, x. 394.
Ximenes, Cardinal, his regulations for the treatment of the Indians in the Spanish colonies, viii. 310. Patronises the attempt of Ferdinand Magellan, x. 78.

Y

Yucatan, the province of, discovered by Pinzon and Dias de Solis, viii. 265. Described, 382. From whence that province derives its value, x. 364. Policy of the court of Spain with respect to, 366.

Z

Zarate, Don Augustine, character of his History of the Conquest of Peru, x. 396.
Zones, the earth how divided into, by the geography of the ancients, viii. 32. By whom first so divided, 356.
Zumarraga, Juan de, first bishop of Mexico, the destroyer of all the ancient records of the Mexican empire, x. 276.

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